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AN ANGLO-CATHOLIC ON 'THE RECOVERY OF UNITY'—I

DR E. L. MASCALL's latest book, *The Recovery of Unity : A Theological Approach*,¹ is excellent value, since the printing succeeds in getting a great deal on each page. I have discovered only two misprints, *reguld* for *regula* in the dedication and the misplacement of the word 'Ordre' in note 5 on page 181. It is a defence, in contemporary terms, of the traditional 'Anglo-Catholic' position. The book is urbanely provocative and charitably challenging ; Dr Mascall is somewhat like a headmaster, who summons his sixth form to his study and admonishes them. We all catch it : Ecumenists, Protestants, Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox and even Anglicans. All of us are told where we go wrong and how to amend our ways and go right. Sixth form boys are apt to think that the issues of life are a bit more complex than they appear in the study of the headmaster and that the head's reflections on their characters is perhaps unduly astringent ; and yet they will readily acknowledge much wisdom in the head and recognize his sincere interest in their welfare.

In his Introduction Dr Mascall insists that in the effort to unite Christians theology is of supreme importance and that consideration of 'non-theological factors', of which so much is heard, must not be allowed to obscure the supreme importance of theology ; then, that theology must be studied at a deeper level than is often customary, since many differences

¹ Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1958, pp. xiii and 242, 25s.

spring from unrealized but false assumptions common to disputants, especially Catholics and Protestants; and, finally, that unity must be sought for its own sake and for no merely pragmatic reasons.

Dr Mascall then gives instances which he judges to show common false assumptions at the root of differences: the idea that sacrifice involves the killing of a victim, which led Protestants to deny that the Eucharist can be a sacrifice and led Catholics to find some immolation, even though only mystical, in the Eucharist. Next, a 'clericalism' unconsciously accepted by both Catholics and Protestants, the former making it the business of the priest to celebrate Mass and of the laity to watch him, the latter making it the business of the minister to preach and of the laity to listen to him. Then, a 'pietism', that is, acceptance of 'an individualistic, subjective, pietistic and christocentric' outlook instead of 'the corporate, objective, liturgical and theocentric religion of the primitive church'. Dr Mascall ends this section by affirming 'the dominance of the pietistic outlook in post-Reformation Catholicism', manifest in the 'decay of contemplation' and the substitution of 'techniques of soul-training and discursive prayer'. The spirituality of the Counter-Reformation was 'fundamentally unstable' (p. 16) and its religion had 'a fundamentally disintegrated' character (p. 18).

But of greatest importance, in Dr Mascall's opinion, was the assumption, by both Protestants and Catholics, of a nominalism in which 'the reality of an object tended to be identified with its observable characteristics' (p. 24). This led Catholics to try 'to salvage the free-will of man without recourse to grace', and to establish that 'nature is not so deeply impaired that it cannot do something efficacious for salvation'.² This theme of the baneful influence of nominalism runs through Dr Mascall's whole book.³ Dr Mascall ends this 'clearing of the ground' with some consideration of what he calls 'angelism', that is, the notion that man is a soul and not a body and a soul united. This is manifest in the Catholics, Descartes and Malebranche, and may have influenced Bérulle, Condren and Olier towards a 'negativism' and a tendency 'to assume that the Creator is to be glorified by the destruction of his creature'; and is manifest in the Anglican catechism

² Citation by Dr Mascall, p. 27, from Père L. Bouyer's *The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism*, pp. 155-6.

³ Cf. pp. 19-28, 45, 48, 52, 60, 75, 78, 85, 90, 91, 99, 103, 104, 106, 114, 117, 122, 146, 162, 184, 187, 189.

with its teaching that the 'supernatural effects of the Eucharist are limited to the spiritual parts of man's nature and leave his body to be sustained by purely natural nourishment' and in the practical 'abdication of the Church from concern with the material order' during the industrial revolution.

Dr Mascall then turns to reject solutions and methods which he considers too facile. The first is the attempt to produce unity merely by modifications of existing Protestant and Catholic 'systems', without examination of possible 'uncriticized assumptions which both have inherited from the decadent theology of the period immediately preceding their separate existence' (p. 52). This attempt he illustrates by the invitation of the archbishop of Canterbury to groups of theologians to examine the points of difference between Catholics and Protestants and to see if 'a synthesis at those points is possible, and if a synthesis is not possible, can they co-exist within one ecclesiastical body and under what conditions?' Dr Mascall thinks that the event proved the invitation to be premature. A group of 'Catholic' minded theologians drew up a report entitled *Catholicity: a Study in the Conflict of Christian Traditions in the West*, published in 1947; a group of 'evangelical' Anglicans drew up a report *The Fullness of Christ: the Church's Growth in Catholicity* which appeared in 1950; and a group of Free Churchmen published the same year *The Catholicity of Protestantism*. Neither side, holds Dr Mascall, was able to give an account of the other's doctrine which the other admitted to be fair and adequate; and consequently any hope of a 'synthesis' was obviously illusory. The other instance of a false method alleged by Dr Mascall is the conversations between Anglicans and Presbyterians, which, he judges, made no attempt to go behind existing divisions and merely attempted superficial 'modifications and mutual adaptations' so as to preserve the fullness of their separate traditions (p. 52).

The next solution which Dr Mascall regards as too facile is 'to bring back the West to Orthodoxy' by acceptance of 'the Orthodox faith in its true and essential form', that is, as it is held by the Eastern Orthodox Churches. Dr Mascall, however, judges that even in regard to Orthodoxy in the East the task remains of 'disentangling the authentic Christian norm from its accidental, and largely falsifying, accompaniments' (p. 62). The Orthodox Churches have been influenced by their excessive dependence on the civil power, by missing contact with the Renaissance, the Reformation and the

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scientific movement of the modern world (p. 61), and by dependence upon Latin scholasticism and German liberal Protestantism, mysticism and idealism (p. 62).

Dr Mascall then suggests something of the liturgical task before theologians: correction of a doctrinaire liturgism which relies unwisely upon antiquarianism; integration into the liturgy, perhaps with modifications, of popular devotion to 'the sacred humanity of Christ' (I share Dr Mascall's dislike of this terminology and should like to see it abolished); a realization that the theory of justification by faith alone may result, as in Dr Nygren, in a denial of the plain obligation of Christians to love God. Dr Mascall has ten pages analyzing Dr Nygren's *Agape and Eros*.

Next comes a consideration of Père Bouyer's *The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism*, which may be briefly and perhaps inadequately summed up as an assertion that the positive elements in Protestantism were 'basic elements of the Catholic religion'—the gratuitous character of grace, the sovereignty of God, the rôle of faith in justification and the supremacy of Scripture—but that negative elements, due to nominalism, supervened and overshadowed these true insights: 'if the grace of God is such, only on condition that it gives nothing real; if man who believes, by saving faith, is in no way changed from what he was before believing; if justification by faith has to empty of all supernatural reality the Church, her sacraments, her dogmas; if God can only be affirmed by silencing his creature, he acts only by annihilating it, if his very Word is doomed to be never really heard—what is condemned is not man's presumptuous way to God, but God's way of mercy to man.'⁴

The source of this unbiblical doctrine, says Dr Mascall, following Père Bouyer, arose because 'the Reformers were in fact hamstrung by the fact that, having nothing but the categories of Ockhamist nominalism to work with—that "radical empiricism, reducing all being to what is perceived, which empties out, with the idea of substance, all possibility of real relations between beings, as well as the stable subsistence of any of them"⁵—it was simply impossible for them to give a theoretical formulation to a religion in which "everything that man possesses, both in the order of creation and in the

⁴ *The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism*, p. 151. I must confess that I do not see how Protestant doctrine dooms God's Word to be never really heard.

⁵ Bouyer, *The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism*, p. 153.

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order of redemption, comes from God and is nevertheless really possessed by man' (p. 90).

Dr Mascall thinks that Père Bouyer may exaggerate somewhat the influence of nominalism, but is fundamentally correct. 'It is revelant', he says, 'to recall Bouyer's point that the Catholic thinkers of the sixteenth century were just as much victims of nominalism as the Protestants; so that, in their famous controversy about the freedom and the bondage of the human will, Erasmus, just as much as Luther, was incapable of describing the true nature of the relation between God and man' (p. 90).

Turning next to 'The Rediscovery of the Liturgy', Dr Mascall first lays down what he judges the fundamental principle of liturgy, namely that the sacraments 'do not operate by their effect upon our feelings, nor is their primary purpose our individual edification. They operate because they are the acts of Christ in his mystical Body the Church, and their purpose is the building up of the Body of Christ by the ever closer and fuller incorporation of his members into him.' He judges that medieval thought about the sacraments was both 'psychological and atomistic', and part of the rediscovery of the liturgy is to correct these defects. Dr Mascall then cites the Lutheran, Dr Brilioth, in criticism of the Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinistic changes in the liturgy, and discusses the recent adverse views about Cranmer as expressed by the late Dom Gregory Dix in *The Shape of the Liturgy*, the Rev. G. B. Timms, and Dr Cyril C. Richardson. Dr Mascall, however, adds that the unfavourable judgements upon Cranmer current during the last fifteen years may be modified somewhat by Dr C. W. Dugmore's forthcoming *The Mass and the English Reformers*. 'What has nevertheless fairly clearly emerged from our discussion is the extent to which, like most of his contemporaries', adds Dr Mascall, 'he (Cranmer) was hamstrung by nominalism. And, for all the haunting beauty of its stately English prose, the liturgy which Cranmer bequeathed to the Church of England most patently fails to express the nature of the act which, in spite of its defects in structure and wording, it nevertheless validly performs. When Cranmer could reply to one of his own questions that "the receiving of the said sacrament by one man doth avail and profit only him that receiveth the same", no further demonstration is needed of the extent to which he had lost hold of the primitive conception of the Eucharist as the *leiturgia*, the common work, of the mystical Body of the Redeemer' (p. 121).

Dr Mascall adds that the Church of England did not interpret Cranmer's liturgy in a Zwinglian sense, and as evidence of this refers to the case of Robert Johnson, who was sentenced in 1573-74 to a year's imprisonment for having distributed in the congregation wine over which the words of institution had not been recited. The provision for a 'second consecration' when the wine proved insufficient for the numbers present, though contained in the 'Order of Communion' of 1548, was omitted in 1549 and did not reappear until 1662, though No. 21 of the Canons of 1603 forbade the distribution of unconsecrated elements. Johnson's condemnation, argues Dr Mascall, is evidence tending to show that 'the Church of England, saddled as it was with Cranmer's liturgy, respectfully but firmly refused to interpret it in a Zwinglian sense'.⁶

This first part of the discussion of the rediscovery of the liturgy ends with five pages devoted to the late Dr Donald M. Baillie's *The Theology of the Sacraments*; this work, while showing that Dr Donald Baillie 'through his active participation in ecumenical work came to understand and appreciate the Catholic standpoint', nevertheless fails to meet Dr Mascall's approval on three points, the meaning of the extension of the Incarnation in the Church, the difference between the sacraments of the Old and of the New Law, and the relation between the Eucharistic presence and faith. Dr Mascall, however, ends by judging that Dr Baillie's work 'offers an opportunity for some really constructive mutual discussion' (pp. 123-7). Perhaps a reading of Dr Donald Baillie's previous work, *God Was in Christ: an Essay on Incarnation and Atonement*, might have modified some of Dr Mascall's criticisms and drawn him to see that the area of agreement is greater than he seems to think.

Dr Mascall then quotes from Père Bouyer's *Life and Liturgy* and Pater Joseph Jungmann's *The Sacrifice of the Church* certain criticisms of liturgical developments of an accidental sort during the Baroque and the Romantic periods, refers to recent changes in liturgical regulations, such as in the fasting laws, permission for evening Mass and the reformed Easter rite, and ends by concluding that Rome's recent policy 'as a whole combines to a very large degree the elements of liturgical restoration and sensible modernity which such scholars as Jungmann and Bouyer have seen to be not antagonistic but

⁶ Details of Johnson's trial and of the theory held by his judges may be seen in two articles of extraordinary interest by Dr E. C. Ratcliff, 'The English Usage of Eucharistic Consecration 1548-1662', in *Theology*, June and July 1957, pp. 229-36 and 273-80.

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complementary to each other' (p. 137). As regards the liturgy of modern Anglicanism, Dr Mascall is radically critical of the methods of the 1927-28 Prayer Book revision, and of the so-called 'interim rite', which is a rearrangement of the 1662 material in the order of the traditional Latin canon. Dr Mascall's criticism here is that the Cranmerian rite, however rearranged, stresses too much the offering of ourselves and our 'bounden duty and service', which, though it may be understood as referring to the Eucharistic gifts and not merely to our own praise and thanksgiving, nevertheless remains defective and can be traced 'to a radical disintegration of the notion of the Christian sacrifice' (p. 140).

'Not the priest offering Christ', says Dr Mascall, 'nor Christians offering themselves, but *the whole Christ*, Head and members, offering *the whole Christ* to the glory of God the Father, this is surely the true conception of the Eucharist, and it is this that we must seek to embody in any future revision. Mere rearrangement of existing material is not enough' (p. 141). Dr Mascall next turns to what in the Church of England is known as the 'Parish Communion Movement', which in practice 'means that, instead of what may be called the "8-and-11" tradition, according to which the great bulk of the people come to church at 11 a.m. either for Morning Prayer or for a Sung Mass at which only the priest communicates, while a small number have received communion at a Low Mass or "said service" three hours earlier, there is a celebration of the Holy Eucharist at 9 or 9.30 with a large congregation, music and a sermon, and a general communion of the people.' Dr Mascall, while admitting that in some parishes, where the people are trained and taught to prepare themselves, this may be 'the right form of service', still the practice is open to many serious objections which the Archbishop of York has not failed to point out: the emphasis upon the offertory may imply the shallow and romantic sort of Pelagianism which substitutes our own offering for the one sufficient sacrifice of our Lord on Calvary; the emphasis upon corporateness may lessen the sense of Holy Communion as the responsible act of an individual which 'sets him alone with his Lord as at the hour of death and the day of judgement'; and insistence upon the idea of 'fellowship' may tend to mean 'getting all the people on to one spot at one hour of the day', whereas real Christian fellowship means primarily 'bringing them into the participation in our Lord . . . in his broken body'.⁷

⁷ Citations from Dr Ramsey's *Durham Essays and Addresses*, pp. 17-20, cited by Dr Mascall, pp. 143-5.

As an additional objection to the Parish Communion Movement Dr Mascall adds that 'from its earliest days it deliberately addressed itself to all schools of churchmanship in the Church of England. Indeed, one of its claims was that it did not presuppose any particular belief about the eucharistic presence and the eucharistic sacrifice, and so would help to obliterate the sharp contrasts that had come to distinguish different schools of thought in their worship. This was, it need hardly be said, a praiseworthy aim, but the cost may well have been too high' (p. 143). Perhaps a Roman Catholic may be forgiven for suggesting that Dr Mascall's comment is mild in the extreme.

Dr Mascall's next two chapters deal with episcopacy. He begins by insisting that acceptance of episcopacy does necessarily involve the acceptance of some theory about it, even though only a general theory, which would leave open acceptance of particular interpretations (p. 154). He cites Dr Gregg, archbishop of Armagh, as saying :

'To urge the acceptance of an institution without insisting on any reasoned meaning of it reduces it, in my opinion, to something like mumbo-jumbo. To have no philosophy of the institution which episcopacy is, is to undermine the Ordinal, which insists upon episcopal ordination, and to leave it to be supposed that this insistence rests only on antiquarian pedantry or sectarian prejudice' (p. 156).

Dr Mascall supports this standpoint by citing Dr Micklem, a Congregationalist, who says that 'episcopacy in itself . . . is merely an external link with the earliest days of the Church', which is in fact an interpretation of episcopacy; and Dr Mascall judges that Methodists, even if they accepted episcopacy, would scarcely be allowed liberty to hold that 'no orders were valid unless they had been conferred by a bishop in the historic succession', which is surely a permitted opinion in the Church of England. Thus, argues Dr Mascall, the suggestion of 'taking episcopacy into their system', without insisting upon any interpretation of episcopacy, leaves open a liberty of interpretation which the Anglican formularies do not leave open. Yet Dr Mascall goes on to admit that there is need to recover 'the authentic norm of episcopacy', presumably as regards accidentals, since he has cited Dix as saying that beneath all external variations in episcopal appearances—the bishop as a missionary monk, as something not unlike a tribal wizard, as a royal counsellor, as a great feudal landlord, as a torpid grandee of the eighteenth

century, as a Victorian philanthropist and modern spiritual bureaucrat—the essential office continued unchanged: to shepherd, to consecrate, to ordain, and to confirm (p. 161).

Dr Norman Sykes and his *Old Priest and New Presbyter* is then appraised. Dr Sykes's view, defended over a period of more than eight years, is that the Church of England has been consistent in the following *via media*:

"The *via media* affirms the maintenance of episcopacy by the Church of England as part of a continuity with the early and medieval church, its acceptance on the ground of historic continuance since the apostolic age, its requirement for ministering within its own communion, and its restoration to those churches which have lost it, as a condition of reunion, without asserting that their non-episcopal ministries and sacraments to be invalid because of its loss."⁸

Dr Mascall's answer is of great interest. First, he remarks that Dr Sykes omits the names of certain Anglican divines of importance, Pearson, Wheatley, Potter, Comber, Mant and Beveridge, which leads to doubt 'whether Sykes's collection of material is fairly representative or not'; and secondly, that the Church of England did in fact retain episcopacy, that the church cannot be bound by sixteenth and seventeenth-century opinions and precedents and that the present duty is to attain 'a proper and pastoral understanding of the nature and meaning and significance of the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God'.⁹

"The picture that emerges from Sykes's collection of material", says Dr Mascall, "is that of a steady development of emphasis, from the accession of Elizabeth I onwards, upon the importance, and indeed the necessity, of episcopacy. To begin with, the Anglican writers are generally content to insist that episcopacy is *legitimate*, and some of them are even prepared to base it upon nothing more than the authority of the "godly prince". By the end of Elizabeth's reign a "more emphatic note" is discerned, in the next century it becomes "even more emphatic and confident". After the restoration it produces what Sykes describes as the "innovation" of the unvarying requirement of episcopal ordination for any ministry in the Church, and with the Tractarians we get "the emergence of a new emphasis upon, if not a novel doctrine of, episcopacy in the Church of England". The natural theological

⁸ Sykes, *Old Priest and New Presbyter*, p. 261.

⁹ The last citation is from an article by Canon Charles Smyth in *Theology*, lxi (September 1956), pp. 365-6.

interpretation of this movement might well seem to be that the Church had been gradually led by the Spirit of God into a fuller understanding of an institution which had been providentially preserved in it through all the turmoils of the Reformation' (p. 166, with references to Sykes's book).

The following chapter is a sustained argument, with apposite quotations from a variety of writers, to show that the apostolate established by Christ forms a necessary structure and function in the Church which Christ intended to continue. The essential function of the Apostles as eye-witnesses is analogically continued in the notion of the bishop as the guardian of the apostolic tradition and teacher of the people of God. The kernel of the argument is contained, I think, in the following quotation which Dr Mascall takes from Fr Gabriel Hebert :

"That the apostle in the New Testament is not solely a "witness of the resurrection", with all that this involved, but is also assigned certain functions in the *ecclesia*; and that when we find the episcopate in the second century exercising substantially these same functions, and also in the earliest ordination rites claiming to be descended by succession from the original apostles, the claim should be admitted as true; and this holds good, whatever was the actual process of development during the "tunnel-period".¹⁰

As regards 'apostolic succession', Dr Mascall feels that the term can suggest a somewhat materialistic notion : each bishop succeeds his predecessor somewhat as a relay runner succeeds his forerunner ; or the 'grace of ordination' may be imagined to flow through bishops somewhat as water or gas flows through pipes. To obviate this unpleasant association Dr Mascall suggests that we ought to consider that episcopal consecration, and indeed all ordination, incorporates a man not merely into the existing earthly episcopate, presbyterate or diaconate, but into the earthly body as united to the heavenly body of the Church triumphant. 'Thus a newly consecrated bishop is not, in the strict theological sense, a successor of the apostles ; he is simply a *new apostle*. Consecration therefore is not an act by which the earthly Church authorizes one of its members to perform certain functions ; it is an act by which the universal apostolate, most of whose members are beyond the grave, acting through its earthly part, incorporates a new member into itself' (p. 185). Dr Mascall had developed this

¹⁰ Reflections on 'The Apostolic Ministry', *Theology*, liv (December 1951), p. 461.

theme in *Christ, the Christian and the Church* and in *Corpus Christi*). The Church Catholic cannot be identified only with the Church militant, but must include also the Church triumphant, and it is Christ in the Church both as militant and as triumphant who incorporates ministers into his apostolate.

Dr Mascall ends the chapter with some considerations on the priesthood. He quotes Canon H. Balmford, writing in review of Dr T. W. Manson's *The Church's Ministry*, to good effect: 'if priesthood is a valid category for Christ, as the epistle to the Hebrews makes out, then his ministers are *sacerdotes secundi ordinis* just in so far as they are his under-shepherds and the messengers of his gospel. There can be only one Priest, creatively and originatively; so, too, and for the same reasons, there is only one Pastor, only one Announcer of the Gospel. Of men none of these terms can be predicated except derivatively and dependently. But all these terms indicate foci in the work Christ carries on through his body. *Totus Christus* is not *Christus dimidiatus*.'¹¹ Which means, I take it, that as Christ does not cease to be a prophet, but continues to teach his message through his ministers, so likewise he does not cease to be a priest and continues to exercise his priesthood through his ministers.

The last two chapters deal with the Church and the papacy. After reciting the verses *O Roma nobilis . . . roseo martyrum sanguine rubea* as a heading to his chapter, and after paying a tribute of gratefulness to the Roman See, 'since it was from Rome and its pontiff that the Church of England to which we belong derived its origin,' Dr Mascall quotes an argument from Dr Ramsey to show that the ground on which episcopacy is accepted seems to imply acceptance of some form of succession to St Peter:

'The crucial question [says Dr Ramsey] for theology is this. Does this developed structure of episcopacy fulfil the same place in the Church and express the same truth as did the apostles' office in Samaria and in Corinth and throughout the Apostolic Church? If "Paul the apostle" represents an important truth by his place and function in the one Body, does the bishop represent the same truth?'

'And his answer', proceeds Dr Mascall, 'argued with considerable detail was that this is so. He saw clearly, however, though he did not state the question in these words, that it is equally valid to ask "If "Peter the Rock" represents an important truth by his place and function in the one Body, does the pope

¹¹ *Church Quarterly Review* cxlvii (1948), p. 2, cited by Mascall, p. 191.

represent the same truth? Or, as he actually puts it, after arguing on behalf of Catholic church order:

"The question at once arises whether the papacy is an equally legitimate development, growing out of a primacy given by our Lord to St Peter and symbolizing the unity of the Church. The answer must be found in the same tests. A papacy, which expresses the general mind of the Church in doctrine, and which focuses the organic unity of all the bishops and of the whole Church, might well claim to be a legitimate development in and through the Gospel."

But Dr Ramsey goes on to say that 'a papacy which claims to be a source of truth over and above the general mind of the Church and which wields an authority such as depresses the due working of the other functions of the one Body, fails to fulfil the main tests'.¹² Dr Ramsey then argues that the papacy as it has developed in history has thus failed to meet the tests; and yet he adds that 'in the reunited Church of the future there may be a special place for a *primus-inter-pares* as an organ of unity and authority'.

Dr Ramsey's final conclusion is as follows:

'A primacy should depend upon and express the organic authority of the Body; and the discovery of its precise functions will come not by discussion of the Petrine claims in isolation but by the recovery everywhere of the Body's organic life, with its bishops, presbyters and people. In this Body Peter will find his due place, and ultimate reunion is hastened not by the pursuit of "the papal controversy" but by the quiet growth of the organic life of every part of Christendom' (*Ibid.*, p. 228).

Dr Mascall comments: 'A statement such as this, coming with the great authority of the archbishop of York (it is printed unaltered in the edition of 1956), is, I would suggest, of the greatest significance. For it is only too often assumed by Anglicans that they have nothing to say about the papacy except to reject it outright; here, however, we have a recognition that, however much the papacy may have failed to manifest its true function in the Church, nevertheless it has a legitimate place and will find this in the reunited Church of the future. If, in the present chapter, I find myself compelled to pursue "the papal controversy", it will, I trust, be in the spirit of the archbishop's words' (p. 197).

For my own part, I am at a loss to understand why Dr Mascall 'finds himself compelled to pursue the papal

¹² *The Gospel and the Catholic Church*, p. 64.

controversy', and I sincerely think he would have done better to end with his comment upon the words of the archbishop of York. However, in fact, Dr Mascall proceeds as follows : 'Acceptance of the papal claims involves acceptance of each of the following four propositions :

1. Christ conferred upon St Peter a primacy over the Church and over his fellow-apostles.
2. This authority was transmissible to his successors.
3. His successors are the bishops of Rome.
4. The primacy involves the absolute supremacy in governing and teaching the Church which is commonly claimed by popes and expounded by Roman Catholic theologians at the present day' (p. 197).

Dr Mascall cites Dr Oscar Cullmann and the dean of Christ Church, Dr John Lowe, as accepting the first of these propositions,¹³ but as denying, from different reasons, the second. Cullmann held that on the death of the apostles their powers reverted to the Church as a whole ; Lowe that Peter's function as the foundation stone ceased with his death, and that there is insufficient evidence that Peter was diocesan bishop of Rome. Dr Mascall, however, accepts the first three propositions but rejects the last. His reasons may be reduced to the following :

1. The position claimed to-day for the papacy is different in substance and not merely accidentally from that which was generally accorded to it in the undivided Church. The code of Canon Law asserts that 'the Roman Pontiff has not only a primacy of honour, but the supreme and full power of jurisdiction over the universal Church, both in things which belong to faith and morals and also in those which belong to the discipline and government of the Church spread throughout the world. This power is truly episcopal, ordinary and immediate both over each and every church, and over each and every one of the pastors and the faithful and is independent of any human authority.'

No theory of development, judges Dr Mascall, can find any real basis in the early Church for so momentous a claim.

2. The pope's infallibility and universal episcopal jurisdiction makes the pope in effect not a member of the Church at all, but an external authority to which the Church is subjected (p. 210).

¹³ Cullmann, *Peter : Disciple, Apostle, Martyr*, translated by Floyd V. Filson of McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, London, 1953 ; Lowe, *Saint Peter*, Oxford, 1956.

3. The official Roman position submerges the sacramental nature of the Church beneath the administrative and the judicial. As an instance, Dr Mascall refers to the opinion that popes have given power to abbots to ordain to the deaconate and even the priesthood. Whereas the older Roman Catholic writers held either that the records were false or that the popes in question were mistaken, more recent Roman Catholic writers—Leeming, Bligh, Journet and Lennerz—tend to say that since the popes in fact did it, they have the power to do it. This assumes that the popes even when not speaking *ex cathedra* cannot err, and claims that the pope by his administrative authority can overrule the sacramental structure of the Church.

4. Mgr Journet argues : St Ignatius of Antioch and St Cyprian clearly hold that the bishop is the centre of unity of the local church and the authority to which it must be subject : now what is true of the parts must be true of the whole, and consequently the whole Church must have a centre of unity and of authority. To this Dr Mascall answers that the early struggles of the Church against docetism, gnosticism and other heresies do not show those appeals to the central authority which would have been normal had there been belief in such authority. I cannot refrain from commenting that I think Dr Mascall here forgets St Irenaeus and St Stephen.

5. The Church cannot be founded upon an institution which is essentially intermittent. Now the popes die, and if, as Roman Catholic theologians say, the papacy were of the *esse* of the Church, on the death of a pope, the Church would simply cease to exist. This is a reality, for after the death of Clement IV in 1268 the papacy was vacant for nearly three years ; moreover during the Great Schism, which lasted some forty years, it was not certain who was the pope. If communion with the pope is the test of visible membership in the Church of God, half of Europe during the Great Schism did not enjoy it ; and after the death of a pope, before the election of his successor, schismatics must cease to be such for ‘they are in communion with all the popes that there are (which is precisely none)’.

6. The practical certainty which the Roman Catholic Church claims to provide in her normal day-to-day teaching is largely an illusion. Keenan’s Catechism, approved by Irish and Scottish bishops, denied papal infallibility ; not long afterwards the Vatican Council defined infallibility as an article of faith. On biblical questions the attitude of the Roman

Church has changed ; the Decrees of the Biblical Commission from 1902 until 1948 showed a narrow conservatism which paralyzed biblical scholarship in the Roman communion ; after 1948, however, a more liberal policy was encouraged. On the question of 'evolution', likewise, there has been a change from 'an anti-transformist front' to a qualified approval or concession, although even now 'there is a firm rejection, in the Encyclical *Humani Generis*, of all views that deny the descent of the human race from one pair of human ancestors'. Finally, Pius XI taught that the perfection of husband and wife can be called the primary reason and cause of marriage, whereas the Holy Office in 1944 declared that the primary end of marriage is the begetting and upbringing of children. These instances show that the Roman Catholic is in no better position as regards certainty than the Anglican, Orthodox or Protestant ; all alike have 'to practise their religion in the faith that the teaching on which it is based is reliable as a whole, while knowing that, in points whose very identity he cannot predict with certainty, it may change in unpredictable ways as time goes on' (p. 230).

In concluding, Dr Mascall says : 'It may well be that in many respects Anglicanism has departed further than Romanism from the primitive wholeness of the Faith. But the Anglican Church has not written its corruptions into its dogma as the Roman Church has done' (pp. 230-1). In spite of these errors, however, the sacramental life of the Body of Christ goes on in the Roman communion ; and the religious life of the Anglican Church owes an inexpressible debt to the 'example and inspiration of Rome'. In any scheme of reunion, as successive Lambeth Congresses have declared, the Divine purpose cannot be fulfilled without inclusion of the great Latin Church of the West. Dr Mascall's last word is as follows :

'In Virgil's first Eclogue, Titurus describing his visit to Rome tells Meliboeus, "I soon saw that Rome stands out above all other cities as the cypress soars above the drooping undergrowth". "And what was the urgent business?", enquires Meliboeus, "that took you to Rome?" To which Titurus replies, "The call of liberty".

'In God's time may that once again be true' (p. 233).

These few pages are an inadequate summary of Dr Mascall's book, and because of brevity may fail in accuracy or in proportion ; if this is so, I express sincere regret. Needless to say I dissent from a number of things in Dr Mascall's book, notably about the papacy, and I feel vexed at other things,

such as his uncritical acceptance of the supposed influence of 'nominalism' and his unfair account of post-Reformation spirituality. But in spite of the dissent and of the occasional vexation, for my own part I welcome the book not only on its own merits but also because it is—to a considerable degree, at least—representative of the Anglo-Catholic school of thought in the Church of England. Whatever else may be said of the Anglo-Catholics, they have had the courage to endure unpopularity for the sake of principle. They have been abused as obscurantists by the Modernists, as Romanizers by the Evangelicals and Freechurchmen, as intransigent separatists by many ecumenists and as sentimental romanticists and nationalists by not a few Roman Catholics. In spite of the unpopularity they have shown an admirable fortitude in maintaining their principles and their faith. Though comparatively few, nevertheless by force of character and devotion, by firm grasp of many Catholic (and therefore universal) principles, by a more penetrating understanding of the philosophical background of all religion, and by a most admirable industry, they have had an influence which far outstrips their numbers. *Magna est veritas et praevalebit*. I wish, in truth, that all the Anglo-Catholics would become, as I put it, Catholics; but if they cannot conscientiously do so, then I devoutly hope that they will stand to their principles and not be intimidated by big battalions or beguiled under plea of charity to compromise. Loss of Anglo-Catholic principles and conviction would be no gain to the Church of England or to the ecumenical movement—however awkward those principles and convictions may sometimes appear.

Issues such as intercommunion, or acceptance of experimental 'reunions' like that of South India, must necessarily appear in a different light to those who do not share Anglo-Catholic convictions on matters like the priesthood, episcopal succession, the real presence and the Eucharistic sacrifice. But Anglo-Catholics cannot surrender their faith for any promised benefits; and I welcome Dr Mascall's book as tending to show that the Anglo-Catholic stand is not without evangelical and firm foundations, and that controversy is by no means one-sided.

It is within that context that some dissents and vexations will be expressed in a subsequent issue.

FR BERNARD LEEMING, S.J.

(*To be continued*)

THE MELKITE CATHOLIC CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF PARADISE (NOSSA SENHORA DO PARAISO), CITY OF SAO PAULO, BRAZIL

A SHORT distance from the Praça Oswaldo Cruz, in São Paulo, Brazil, there stands a relatively new church edifice which attracts at once by virtue of simplicity of design and Arabic-Hellenistic architectural flavour. It is the Melkite Church of Our Lady of Paradise (Nossa Senhora do Paraíso), focal point of a Syrian parish in full religious and ecclesiastical communion with the See of Rome, but enjoying the immediate jurisdiction of His Beatitude Maximos IV Saigh, Melkite patriarch of Antioch and All the East.

For the Latin-rite Catholic of Occidental rearing and education, who often looks in vain for an Eastern-rite Catholic church untainted by 'latinization' and the mediocrity of imitated western architectural styles and décor, the Melkite church in São Paulo comes as a blessed and pleasant surprise. Approaching the courtyard on the Rua Paraíso one is impressed by twin towers of delicate Arabic aspect surmounted by Greek crosses. Between the towers, the upper reaches of the tympanum carry a large mosaic in coloured tiles of Our Lady of Paradise executed in Byzantine style, a monumental example of eastern iconography. Below, beneath the corners of a large half-circle window, are two tile mosaics in rectangular form, their presence on the façade a lesson in ecclesiology and ecclesiastical history. One panel represents the papal insignia, a tiara and the crossed keys of St Peter; the other portrays the patriarchal insignia, the crown of the patriarchs of the East.

Entering the edifice and facing the sanctuary, the pilgrim and student are immediately impressed by the complete absence of statues throughout the main body of the church and by the presence across the entrance to the sanctuary of a marble altar screen or eikonostasis. The seating capacity is probably between 300 and 400 persons and the neat wooden pews are a concession to local custom. The interior of the church is in the basic form of a simple rectangle, accorded dignity and spaciousness by virtue of adequate height to the ceiling, and the five flattened Greek pilasters which break the wall space on either side. The vestige of the royal arch of the primitive basilica separating nave from sanctuary is a simple arc with surfaces to ceiling unadorned.

The eikonostasis is simple but impressive in varicoloured marbles in excellent taste. It is pierced by the three traditional doors which, in this instance, are wider than usual and have no liturgical curtain, thus facilitating observation by the congregation of the divine liturgy. It was explained that such ample doors were also a concession to the many Latin-rite Catholics who frequent the church and to the occidental psychology of persons less appreciative of a sense of mystery in the celebration of Mass.

The sanctuary of the edifice is formed by a central half-dome and two flanking smaller domes corresponding to a triple apse and indicating the positions respectively of the free-standing high altar and two side altars. Within the sanctuary, against a blue background, we find an oriental depiction of Our Lady of Paradise seated upon the traditional Byzantine throne and crowned by two angels overhead. The only representational stained glass window in the church is located in the sanctuary wall and is a small, circular work portraying the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove against a cross of light on a red and blue background.

On each side of the nave, and located well up in the walls above the marble wainscoting, are five vertical, rectangular windows of stained glass. Done in blue, red and opaque-white geometric patterns, without pictorial concepts, these windows provide adequate lighting and add to the subtle but unmistakable suggestion of Arabic decoration. A study of the general interior gives the impression of simplicity, dignity and loftiness as might be found in a Unitarian chapel of the Greek revival in New England. But the liturgical and artistic richness of the sanctuary, the Christocentric focal point of the edifice, carry general comparisons far beyond the impressive accomplishments of Protestant architecture, back to the Golden Age of Byzantium.

Returning to a consideration of the sanctuary of Our Lady of Paradise, we note that the niche on the Gospel side contains a fresco (or other painting-form) of the Nativity; in the niche to the right, or on the epistle side facing the altar, the painting is of the Last Supper. The canopy or ciborium covering the high altar is in Greco-Arabic style. The four supporting columns each terminate in capitals of Arabic form and design. The Greek lettering on the front frieze spells out the holy words 'Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus'.

The marble of the upper entablature of the eikonostasis is similar to that of the approximately eight-foot wainscoting in

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Melkite Catholic Church, Sao Paulo, Brazil 281

the nave, a mottled, blue-white variety which unites the decorative features of the edifice, effecting richness without sacrifice of simplicity.

Second only to the high altar, the eikonostasis is the most important and prominent feature of interior, liturgical arrangement. Four kinds of variegated marbles, tending to browns (light and dark) and blue-grey, provide an opulence which is the more impressive in that it is in contrast to the general simplicity of the church. The liturgical paintings in Greek style show the Twelve apostles in the upper entablature. To the left of the royal or central door we find our Lady; to the right our Lord. Both these pictures are framed under glass perhaps to protect them from becoming blurred through the use of incense which occurs more often during the celebration of the Eastern liturgy than it does during the Occidental High Mass.

During the Divine liturgy on Sunday two small eikons of our Lord and our Lady were exposed on two Cantors' stands located on either side of the royal door or central entrance to the Sanctuary. At the 10.30 a.m. liturgy of St John Chrysostom, the rite was celebrated in Greek and Arabic with the gospel, epistle and sermon likewise in Arabic. At noon, another liturgy was celebrated by the same priest, at which a greater proportion of the congregation was Portuguese-speaking. The music at this service was provided by a Brazilian choir of lay people in the rear gallery—a music in western-style polyphony, somewhat flamboyant and 'revivalist' but withal acceptable. An interesting and significant fact is that the priest celebrating in the sanctuary adapted his Arabic liturgical chant to the musical accompaniment of the non-Arabic speaking Brazilians. The result was completely satisfying from an aesthetic standpoint. Catholic students who belong to the Latin rite, deeply concerned to-day with the problem of the vernacular in the Western Church, would have been delighted and impressed with this expression of cultural flexibility in an Oriental liturgical setting.

The pastor of Our Lady of Paradise Melkite parish is a graduate of St Anne's seminary in Jerusalem, the great Melkite training college founded by the French Cardinal Lavigerie. While a tradition of married parish clergy is very much alive in the Melkite Catholic Church to-day, as in the past, the present incumbent is celibate. He maintains an excellent relationship with the dissident Syrians whose large, unfinished church is located a few blocks distant from Our

Lady of Paradise. Owing to a type of 'mixed marriage', that is, between Latin rite Catholics and dissident Syrians, the numbers of the Catholic Melkites are on the increase in the parish because it is the mind of the Holy See that the Orientals maintain their rite after coming into full Catholic communion with the Church.

The Latin rite Catholic in to-day's world, especially he who has had personal and gratifying experience with an authentic example of oriental Catholicism and who may have read Dom Polycarp Sherwood's article on *The Sense of Rite* (*E.C.Q.*, No. 4, Vol. XII, Winter 1957-8, pp. 112-25), will pause to reflect on the discrepancy between the universal mission of the Mater Ecclesiae—implying her potential capacity for cultural adaptation consistent with the principle of Unity-in-Diversity—and the overwhelming degree to which modes of thought and ecclesiastical procedure continue in the practical order to be dominated by 'Latinity' and Occidental-Mediterranean concepts. It has for some time seemed to this writer that, in his commendable zeal for the visible signs of ecclesiastical and religious unity throughout the Ecclesia, the Latin rite Catholic invariably confuses the concepts of 'unity' and 'communion' with a conformism to his own standards in religious thought and ecclesiastical procedure basically foreign and radically unnecessary to the genius and flowering of world-Catholicism. This is perhaps a failing into which fall easily various forms of so-called 'clerical vested interest', more concerned with the status-quo of institutional power or administrative hegemony than with the direct religio-cultural mission of the Church.

Dom Sherwood cites our present Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, as writing that '... It is important ... to hold in due esteem all that constitutes for the oriental peoples their own special patrimony ... let all be persuaded and hold for certain that they will never be compelled to exchange their own legitimate rites and ancient institutions for the Latin rites and institutions ...' This sounds fine on paper, and it represents the teaching of the Holy See itself. But one may legitimately suspect that to a Dissident Oriental, not to mention a perceptive Catholic of Eastern rite and culture or a pagan of discernment, the fully Catholic theory becomes heavily diluted in practice and often even voided by the constant assumption, dear to the heart and psychology of Occidentals—western Europeans and Americans—of the superiority of their own customs, modes of thought and organizational procedures. To ask but

three questions : Why should a Catholic church in the Far East be a slavish copy of a California mission ? Is the cherished childhood memory of a missionary pastor sufficient reason to ignore the liturgico-cultural requirements of his present non-occidental flock ? Why do western religious orders for women, establishing branches in countries of the East, invariably clothe their oriental sisters in occidental garb ? Lastly, and what is perhaps of more concern in the long run, why must philosophy and theology seemingly be frozen in the linguistic channels of western Europe ? Is it possible that the universal Truth of Our Lord Jesus Christ is only capable of being preserved and transmitted and explored in terms of Greek and Latin ? Are the great language currents of farther Asia inadequate to form a linguistic basis for a theology and a philosophy at once orthodox and more suited to non-European modes of thought and cultural heritage ?

In a far-off corner of South America, in the midst of the Portuguese colonial heritage of latinity and Mediterranean Catholicism, the Melkite Parish of Our Lady of Paradise is seemingly a quite authentic witness to the power of Catholicism to adapt itself to a non-Latin milieu, and vice-versa, without sacrificing one iota of Divine Truth or visible ecclesiastical communion. May our Lady, Seat of Wisdom, guide us ever toward a more perfect realization of what it means to be Catholic, to be Universal, and as Catholics in to-day's world, may we never forget that the real spirit of Unity is utterly alien to Conformity !

It has become a maturing conviction of the writer of these lines that the eventual reunion of the great Dissident Churches with the see of Rome will remain unrealized until the rank-and-file of Latin rite Catholics in prayer and in practice, and ecclesiastical authority in the determination and implementation of policy, are willing fully to accept the consequences of 'adaptation' inherent in the genius of Catholicism.

HENRY D. ELLIS.

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DOCUMENTATION

CONTEMPORARY EASTERN ORTHODOX AND ROMAN CATHOLIC COMMUNICATIONS

Correspondence in English and Greek of Bishop Athenagoras Kokkinakis and J. Francis Cardinal McIntyre (San Francisco, California, 1957).

The above was occasioned by an article which came out in *Apostolos Andreas*, the official weekly of the patriarchate of Constantinople, in which reference was made to the year 1954 as the nine-hundredth anniversary of the 'Sorrowful' Schism. Bishop Athenagoras made this an opportunity to open this correspondence with Cardinal McIntyre, archbishop of Los Angeles, echoing the appeal in the *Apostolos Andreas*, that Rome should take the initiative in a movement of friendliness and co-operation among the Churches in the moral and social field of action. Such a movement will be the first step on the road which some day will bring the Christian world towards the One Church; the one Flock under one Shepherd, Christ the God-man. For this reason the Orthodox Church takes an active part with the Protestant groups. 'In so doing the Orthodox Church avoids participation in dogmatic discussions.' 'Is it beyond the possibility', he asks, 'for the Roman Church to do the same?' Putting aside all obstacles and barriers that circumstances have accumulated and considering the good of co-operating higher than all expected results of isolated endeavours, the Roman Church would do well to accept the suggestion and call all the Christians of the world to a conference of love and brotherhood for the following threefold purpose:

1. To study methods and ways to fight sin under a unified programme and protect peace and Christian values.
2. To gather and organize all the powers of Christianity to defend humanity against the assaults of Communism, the enemies of religion and freedom.
3. To establish circles to study theological subjects along the pattern of those formed in France between Roman Catholics and Orthodox theologians. Similar circles of study formed in the U.S.A. would contribute immensely to our mutual understanding and co-operation.

Cardinal McIntyre in his reply reviewed, in a general way, the history of the relations between the popes and the Eastern Churches. He shows that the Uniates were not, as the writer in *Apostolos Andreas* suggested, 'shallow and changeable in their religious convictions', but the reverse since it was from them that the greater part of the Catholic martyrs beyond the Iron Curtain had come. He showed how the popes had constantly invited the powers of Christianity to defend humanity. He also stated that study circles between Orthodox and Catholic theologians do take place in private in the U.S.A., as well as the annual public Fordham Conferences on Eastern Rites.

In his reply Bishop Athenagoras gives a detailed historical survey from the Orthodox point of view. Here the bishop gives the old controversial arguments and in some cases shows a misunderstanding of the real Catholic position.

One of the main difficulties and misunderstanding is concerning the Catholic Uniate Churches although the bishop accepts the principle since he recounts the appearance of *Latin Rite Orthodox*.¹

This then would seem to be the best place to deal briefly with the question of the Uniates in order to see the mind of Rome concerning reunion with the Orthodox Churches.

We admit that this particular approach does lay itself open to the charge of proselytism, specially in certain countries, and herein is the misunderstanding, even sometimes on the part of the Uniates themselves.

To understand the actual position three things should be born in mind :

1. That the partial reunions of groups of Eastern Churches with the Holy See are considered only as preparation for the complete reunion.

2. That every dissident Eastern rite Christian has a right to his own liturgy and traditions when he is reconciled with the Holy See.

3. That when permission is given for Latin priests to adopt an Eastern rite it is done as much (if not more) for the

¹ See *St Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*, Spring 1958 (p. 20), 'The Western Rite in the Orthodox Church', W. S. Schneida.

education of the Latin clergy as for the necessity of supplying priests of the Eastern rite. In connection with this Dom Polycarp Sherwood's article in the winter issue of *E.C.Q.* 1957 should be studied. Here it is shown how the full significance of rite was only gradually understood in Rome, recent popes, from Benedict XV to the present Holy Father, expounding it by degrees. The theological discussions between Catholic and Orthodox in France, which Bishop Athenagoras advocates, could not have taken place but for the popes' 'Uniate' policy. In recent years a number of Latin clergy have been studying the Byzantine and other Eastern rites some by adopting them, others remaining Latin, but all understanding rite as the full complexus of culture, discipline and theology which are included in their Eastern traditions.

We will end this with a quotation from an article by Père C. Dumont, O.P.²: 'As regards institutions, the autonomy given to "the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church", detached by Benedict XV from the "Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith" (within the Roman Curia), has not only made manifest the Church's concern to distinguish the problems of the reunion of Christendom from that of missions in a pagan land, but has laid the foundations of an organism which should in the near or distant future—allow the Eastern Churches united to the see of Rome to make their voices heard in the immediate councils of the sovereign Pontiff, first of all on the matters which concern their own life, and also on all those which concern the whole of the Church's life. Here, no doubt, it may be pointed out to us that we are far from the goal. That may be so. But it is incontestable that we are on the road which can lead us to it.'³

We turn now from theory to some of the difficulties in present day application.

² 'Roman Catholicism and the Orthodox Churches' by C. J. Durnont, O.P., *The Student World*, No. 1, 1958, Geneva (p. 82).

³ This has now come about since Cardinal Agagianian, the patriarch of the Catholics of the Armenian rite, has been appointed (18th June 1958) pro-prefect of the Sacred Congregation of *Propaganda Fidei*.

THE MELKITE CHURCH AND THE CODE OF CANON LAW FOR THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES

The synod of the Greek Catholic (Melkite) Church held in Cairo from 6th to 11th February 1958

The following report is taken from a talk given to the 'Amitié Sacerdotale' of the Melkite church on 13th March by Mgr P. K. Medawar, auxiliary bishop to the patriarch. It is translated and in part summarized from a full report in 'Vers l'Unité Chrétienne' (*Istina*).

The speaker explained that this synod was additional to the normal series held in summer each year at Ain-Tratz in the Lebanon. The patriarch, in his concluding speech, said that there had been many reasons for choosing Cairo for the synod : firstly to show that their Church was not tied to one country, being equally at home in Egypt ; secondly they wished to honour and exalt Egypt, the centre of attraction for Arabs and orientals, and to make plain their loyalty and confidence in the government's spirit of justice and care for all its citizens. Finally, they wished to give comfort to their faithful, to establish them in peace and confidence. They had a deep hope that the country would always remain a land of justice and peace and that all its children, whatever their religion, would enjoy complete equality, whether they were great or small, Christians or Moslems.

The annual synods had considered the sections of the Oriental Code of Canon Law as they had come out from time to time : that concerning Marriage in 1949; concerning ecclesiastical tribunals in 1950; those relative to Religious and the regulation of church property in 1952. Last summer the section 'of Persons' appeared, that is to say the laws concerned with communities, rites and ecclesiastical authorities, their power according to their hieratical rank.

The Patriarch continued :

'The texts which appeared contained the general norms to which the Christians of oriental rites were bound to conform. Some of its provisions, however, foresaw cases where a "particular law" in force in each rite should be applied. We examined in synod, as they appeared, the various sections of this codification of Canon Law in order to determine the "particular law" of our church, and thus to facilitate its knowledge and application. This was specially the case concerning the legislation on marriage and ecclesiastical

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procedure. The synod of our Church reunited at Ain-Traz in our summer residence clearly determined, then, the rules of our particular law as they remained in force after the new codification, and we have made it the subject of two patriarchal charges.

'When, towards the end of August last, our annual synod was held at Ain-Traz, we had not yet taken cognizance of the codification concerning Persons. It had been published on the 15th of the same month. Seeing that this legislation had to come into force on 25th March this year, and that it contained provisions requiring the application of our particular law, we confided to certain of our jurists the task of studying the canons in question, of making a report to us on them and communicating their advice. Moreover, we too have given ourselves to the study of the laws thus issued, particularly those concerned with the governing authority in the Catholic Church, authority which is exercised in either a collegiate manner, as for example in ecumenical or particular councils, or personally, as by the pope, the patriarchs and the bishops. After this we have convoked to us our venerable brethren, the bishops.'

Mgr Medawar continued :

'To give you an idea of the work concerning the "particular law" to be decided by the synod, we note first a list of forty-five cases where the canons of the Motu proprio "Cleri Sanctitati" refer to this particular law, and secondly we note a statement of eight important novelties introduced into our canon law by this Motu proprio . . . As examples of the things aimed at by these canons let us cite those which treat of titles of honour, to clerical celibacy, to the obligation of Divine Office, to clerical dress, to vote by letter or by proxy, to the authority of the patriarch over his faithful living outside the patriarchate, to certain of his privileges, to the election of bishops, to the celebration of masses pro populo, to returns to Catholic unity, to precedence, to the permanent synod . . .

You will understand that it was materially impossible to treat in a single synod of a few days such numerous questions and also such important ones, questions which have been in process of study for eighteen years at Rome. The Fathers were obliged to concentrate their attention on certain points only.

'1. The obligations imposed on the clergy and which should soon come into force (25th March). These questions

assume an urgent character which requires the bishops to examine them without delay. The decisions taken will be explained to the clergy at an appropriate time.

2. The return of non-Catholic Christians to Catholic unity. Since *Orientalium Dignitas* of Leo XIII, published in 1894, a perfectly natural rule has been adopted in Canon Law, that on entering the Catholic Church Christians must keep their own rite. This is just and reasonable. However, it is no mystery that this rule has been systematically and even violently fought by the partisans of latinization, who think that one is not really Catholic unless one belongs to the Latin rite.

'Yet in spite of all the attacks made on this rule and the innumerable infractions of it, it has remained written in the legislation of the Church, and it has remained as a buttress to defend us against encroachments. Now the new codification has abrogated this law, so just, reasonable and natural, by enacting that the oriental non-Catholic entering the Catholic Church can choose what rite he prefers (or rather which is preferred for him).

This measure is rendered all the more vexatious by its implication of a segregation quite inadmissible among Catholic rites. In effect, this measure is not applied except at the expense of the oriental rites, and in favour of the Latin rite: Para. 1 of Canon II, which accords the freedom of choice of rite, only has in view "baptized non-Catholics of oriental rite" who wish to be received into the Catholic Church. In consequence one can gather from this that Protestants, not being of oriental rite, have not the choice of what rite to adopt: in becoming Catholics they must become Latins. Why this crying inequality, this intolerable partiality?

"This provision of Para. 1 of Canon II is a heavy blow at the development, and even at the existence of the Oriental church within Catholicity. The question is too important for me to be able to deal with it now in a few sentences. It will be enough to tell you, that, having received our objections, Rome has explained that the new rule has been adopted at the demand of the American bishops, and has given us to understand that it ought not to be applied in the East, which should remain regulated by the rule of *Orientalium Dignitas*. It still remains that the rights of the Oriental church in America ought to be those accorded to the Latin church in the East. No discrimination between the rites is tolerable.

3. The third point which has engaged the attention of the Fathers of the Synod is the place which the East should occupy in the Catholic Church and that which is given it by the new codification.

'Let me expand a little on this point because many people have understood it badly or misrepresented it.

There are to-day in the world more than 460 million Catholics of whom only ten million are of Eastern rite. On the other hand the Orthodox of Eastern rite count more than 250 million, in great majority Byzantines. Among the others there would be ten to twelve million Copts and Ethiopians, three to four million Armenians, one million or more Jacobite and Nestorian Syrians. All these Christians are destined to unite, to make a single Church, according to the desire of our Lord Jesus Christ, at the hour foreseen by his Providence. Side by side with the supernatural means of prayer and the intellectual means of study, our duty is to prepare psychologically the way to this reunion, to clear the road by ridding it of every kind of obstacle which obstructs or blocks it. These obstacles are notably mutual prejudices, misunderstandings and misconceptions. The best means of proving the good inclinations and purity of intention of the Catholic Church is to show Christians how Rome proposes to organize the reunited Church, what place she proposes to give to the East.

'This place is not still to be created, it is already established for more than a thousand years, by decisions of œcumenic councils, by bilateral agreements between the two parts of Christendom, by the solemn promises of Sovereign Pontiffs, by written promises made to us at the beginning of the work of codification of the oriental law in 1929-30, and by the official declarations that the cardinal prefect of the Commission of Codification repeated to our patriarch in 1939, assuring him that when the Orthodox should see the new code they would not hesitate to exclaim : "This is our law, this is the voice of our Fathers". The place of the East in the Catholic Church is the most honourable, seeing that she considers the apostolic patriarchs of the East as charged, with the pope of Rome and after him—his very special personal authority being in no way contested—with the government of the Church, and recognizes their first rank after the Sovereign Pontiff, without intermediary. This acknowledgement of first rank in precedence is not an end in itself, it is simply the consequence of the place

that the Eastern patriarchs occupy in the hierarchy of the Universal Church.

'Yet now, instead of manifesting to the Orthodox world this position to which it has a right in the One Church, the new Canon Law promulgated by the Motu proprio *Cleri Sanctitati* presents it with patriarchs reduced in importance, in whom one may well recognize certain privileges simply of a historical nature, the most important of which are, however, subject to previous authorization and subsequent confirmation. With such a conception of the institution of patriarchs, it was natural to assign them, in the order of precedence, a place very far from the pope. These venerable representatives of authentic apostolic Christianity, these leaders of the baptized who first bore the name of *Christians* and in Antioch with St Ignatius first pronounced the word *Catholic*, these successors of the Fathers of the Church and Confessors of the faith, these descendants of the martyrs who have borne and continue to bear all manner of persecutions and outrages for the name of Christ and his cross, these heads of the mother churches which spread the light of Christianity in the entire world long before the creation of cardinal princes, these living emblems of Catholic unity of faith and morals in necessary diversity of customs, discipline, or rites, these representatives of Christian resistance and the maintenance of Christian existence in the Moslem world—what is the place that the new Canon Law reserves for them in the hierarchy of the Church ? Taking no account of all this heritage of holiness and honour, nor of all that they represent in the past nor the hope that they constitute for the future, this new Canon Law relegates them to a position not only after the seventy-two Roman cardinals, but after the hundred or so apostolic legates, be they only priests, and even sometimes after simple bishops of the Latin rite. And why ? Simply because they are united to Rome. In effect the separated churches enjoy all the honours that are their right, and that are necessary for their maintenance and the defence of the interests of their faithful in an East which has become Moslem, while the Catholic patriarchs suffer an increasing *capitis diminutio*, always further minimising their rôle in the Church and the community. And one thinks thus to do the work of Christian union !

'One is so anxious for the unity of Christendom and thinks of it so differently. Let me quote something which our venerable patriarch once said to me : "Every year", he said, "when I realize that the Octave of Unity (19th-25th January) is

approaching I experience a feeling of shame in realizing that our lack of understanding is so great that it causes us to recite vocal prayers and listen to fine discourses in favour of the union of the churches, while in practice we commit acts to raise still further the barriers between them".

"Those who have not in their blood this tradition of which we have spoken, who are not united by a thousand ties to the 250 million Orthodox, do not feel as we do the immense pain that such legislation causes to orientals, nor the strength of the new barrier that it raises between them and the Catholic Church. But we Greek Melkite Catholics cannot be insensible to this evil, we cannot fail to react to it. We have shown this reaction in our synod. I quote again the discourse of his Beatitude at the liturgy on 9th February :

"We have studied this subject with much care, not for the sake of our own person, which is humble and ephemeral, nor for the sake of our community, which is limited in numbers, but in the general and lasting interests of the Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. This Church of Christ should in fact and not only in theory visibly include all Christians without any discrimination, and nearly 250 million of them are of the Eastern apostolic tradition. It is this higher interest of the reunion of Christians, which ought to rouse enthusiasm in every Christian heart . . . which requires us to affirm the eminent place, theirs of right, which the apostolic patriarchs of the East ought occupy in the One Church."

"After emphasizing their complete loyalty to and confidence in the Holy Father whose primacy and universal jurisdiction they whole-heartedly confess, and speaking of the liaison position between Christian East and Christian West that the Melkite Church holds, the patriarch concluded :

"And when we see things which would not accord with the goal of our vocation, we may not keep silence : our responsibilities require us to draw attention to the necessary alterations."

"In fact we have submitted a synodal letter to his Holiness the pope, which we have sent by a special messenger, Mgr Hakim, of Galilee, who left immediately for Rome with this object. All one can say at the moment is that the pope is truly the common father, that one obtains justice when one applies to him, and that the reception accorded to our requests has been not only sympathetic but encouraging, that our objections are being examined under favourable auspices. We await the result with confidence.'

At this point it is as well to state the significant unanimity of all the Fathers of the synod. There was throughout the work a perfect accord on the points studied.

Mgr Medawar continued by giving a very serious and apparently well authenticated report that Latin priests in Egypt had systematically, both before and during the synod, gone round the houses of the Melkite laity trying to persuade them that their hierarchy was liable to go into schism through a small-minded love of dignity and precedence. They thus caused a great deal of worry among the laity which the hierarchy and clergy had the added anxiety of quieting.

He concluded :

'Having confidence in the Holy Father we have recourse to him, as we have done in this synod ; but let us not be more papal than the pope. If we love him let us imitate him : he has received our objections paternally, promising to study them with favour. It is good that, being precisely informed of the matter of these objections, he has made no haste to judge or condemn, he has not said that we have a schismatic spirit . . . And the high Roman dignitaries, constantly in touch with his Holiness, have not only encouraged us, but even asked us to continue our study to help them to find the best solution to the problems envisaged. Once again then : charity, justice, prudence.'

THE PATRISTIC SOURCES OF THE DOCTRINE OF GREGORY PALAMAS ON THE DIVINE ENERGIES

II.—THE THREE CAPPADOCIANS

AFTER the study of Dionysius the Areopagite, we proceed to that of the Three Cappadocians, that is, Basil the Great, Gregory the Theologian, and Gregory of Nyssa. The identity of the context of thought in this matter, in which their very similar speculative genius developed in an approximately similar way, despite their individual originality, allows us to treat the three of them in one study.

The worth and authority of the Three Cappadocians in theology is not to be discussed. Palamas constantly refers to them with the utmost respect, though he has, following in this the general tradition and feeling of both the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, a preference rather for Basil and the Theologian than for St Gregory of Nyssa (about the Theologian, for example, he says : 'the most theological of the Gregories, ὁ τῶν Γρηγορίων θεολογικώτατος'). That his fundamental teaching is found in them, we shall prove in this article ; and though Dionysius the Areopagite has perhaps had more influence upon him from the point of view of thought, it is evident that from the point of view of terminology he has without any hesitation followed theirs. Their influence on his thought, moreover, is very deep.

First, let us see how the three Cappadocians have been led to develop their doctrine on this matter. A general glance at their works will immediately reveal that Gregory the Theologian has developed his thought on this matter more free than the others from any polemical urgency, and it is rather in the works of Basil and his brother that the origin of the doctrine is to be found, especially in their controversy against Eunomius. To conclude from this that their treatment of the matter has been purely accidental, so that if the heresy of Eunomius had never appeared we would never had from them any treatment of the subject, would be a superficial and erroneous way of looking at things : for heresy, real heresy is never accidental, but an unharmonious excrescence at a certain stage of doctrinal development ; and just as every free action of the human will, before actualizing itself, is confronted with two possible solutions, the truthful one and

the erroneous, so also, in theological development, every stage will necessarily find itself confronted with two possible solutions, each of which will actually find in the numerous human souls respective adherents who will necessarily enter into conflict with each other. Real theological controversy thus appears to us no more as an accidental phenomenon, bearing a negative aspect, but as the necessary positive march of theological thought, which, as the human will, is, in its essence, capable of antagonistic solutions.

To return to our subject, the initiator of the doctrine is St Basil, who first wrote against the heresy of Eunomius: the latter wishing to prove that the Son was unlike ($\delta\pi\mu\sigma\tau\omega\varsigma$) the Father in substance, and therefore inferior, declared that the essence of God is his being unborn ($\eta\ \delta\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\sigma\varsigma$). Against such a perfidious declaration, St Basil uses all the mastery of his art and science, and after him the Theologian and especially Gregory of Nyssa, whose last long book, his work against Eunomius, is a patient and detailed elucidation of the matter. We thus see that the origin of their doctrine of the divine energies is evidently trinitarian, and the elucidation and defence of the mystery of the Trinity has led these Fathers to it, without suspecting that this last doctrine, which they treated as it were in passing, would, nine centuries later, be the subject of a sour controversy, for whose defence 'ex professo' Palamas had devoted himself. This doctrine is one of those which have most shaped the presentation of Orthodoxy, its originators are no less than the foremost representatives of Eastern theological thought and the most venerated both by the Catholic and Orthodox Churches, and it is essential for the understanding of Orthodoxy and the Greek Fathers.

St Basil refutes Eunomius by saying that 'being unborn' is not the Essence of God, but is attached to God, is a property of God ($\kappa\alpha\tau'\ \delta\lambda\heta\theta\iota\omega\varsigma\ t\omega\ \theta\epsilon\omega\ p\pi\sigma\sigma\o\tau\varsigma$, I): the Essence of God is altogether unknowable, and no name could ever be found to express it in an adequate manner. 'There is no one single name,' he says (*Against Eunomius*, I), 'which suffices to delimitate and adequately express all the nature of God.' In another place he expresses himself very energetically, thus: 'For neither the angels' tongues, whoever they be, nor the archangels', united together with every rational nature, could reach even the minutest part ($\pi\omega\lambda\o\sigma\tau\o\ u\mu\epsilon\o\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\kappa\epsilon\sigma\theta\iota\omega\ d\mu\eta\heta\sigma\o\tau\varsigma$), let alone to equal themselves to the whole.'

(*On Faith*) ; such that 'the knowledge then of the divine Essence, is the sense of his incomprehensibility' (To Amphilius, under the name of Heraclides). According to his brother Gregory of Nyssa, this utter impossibility is the greatest argument of our poverty and of the sublimity of the divine glory. 'The only congruous name of God is to believe him above all names. That he surpasses every movement of the intellect, and is found outside the denominative comprehension, stands as the proof of his majesty unutterable to men' (*Against Eunomius*, XII). But, among them, it is perhaps the Theologian's miraculous tongue that has most beautifully sung this truth : the conciseness of his style bears along with it a great depth, and the resonance of his words in our minds opens to us vast horizons of thought. His thoughts on this particular part of our subject are scattered all among his works, but are especially developed in his second Theological discourse (*Θεολογικός δεύτερος*) which treats of the divine nature. 'What did I feel, O friends, mystics and partners in the love of truth ? I was running, as if to seize God, and thus I ascended to the mountain (he refers to the mountain ascended by Moses), and penetrated the cloud having got inside far from matter and material things, gathered up into myself as much as possible. And when I looked, with difficulty I saw the hinder part of God, and this while concealed in the stone, in the Word Incarnate for our cause ; and looking a little further on, not upon the first and pure nature, known to itself, I mean to the Trinity (οὐ τὴν πρώτην τε καὶ δικήρωτον φύσιν, καὶ ἔστι τῇ λέγω δὴ τῇ Τριάδι γινωσκομένην), and that which lies inside the first veil, and is concealed by the Cherubim, but the last one, which reaches us (δοτῇ τελευταίᾳ, καὶ εἰς τὴν φθάνουσα).' (This opposition between 'first' nature and 'last' (*πρώτην* and *τελευταίαν*) reminds me singularly of similar double denominations used by Palamas, such as 'higher' and 'lower' Divinity (*Ύπερκειμένη* and *ὑφειμένη*), and the idea is the same : it is therefore at the least very amusing to see Palamas stupidly attacked for this reason as being a 'polytheist', while the Theologian is not. Even Archimandrite Kern, a great admirer of Palamas, finds (in an article published by *Irenikon* thirty years ago) this double expression used by Palamas 'rather unfortunate'. But the expression is in no need of justification, and once put in the general context of Orthodox theology and judged in its spirit, is easily understood). But let us return to the Theologian's

words. He says a little further : 'Thus, then, shall you theologize; were you Moses and the god of Pharaoh, had you attained the third heaven according to Paul, and heard unutterable words, had you surpassed these, and been found worthy of some angelic or archangelic state and rank ; were you all heavenly or something superheavenly, and much higher than our nature, and nearer to God, thou would still be further from God and absolute comprehension, or as far as he surpasses our composite abject and earth-seeking mixture. It should be thus begun again : it is difficult to conceive God, impossible to express him, as some Hellenic theologian philosophised, as it appears to me, not without artifice ; saying : it is difficult to appear to have comprehended him ; and, by the impossibility to express, so as to evade the proof ; but, according to my opinion, it is impossible to express Him, and still more impossible to conceive (φάσαι μὲν δύνατον, ὡς δὲ έμὸς λόγος· νοῆσαι δὲ, δύνατατώτερον)' (Second Theological).

The Eunomians have certainly felt the power of such assertions, and to them they advance the captious question, for it is their custom to advance sophistic questions involving a play on words and giving thus the impression of being very witty, at least to simple people. This captious question is : 'Then you venerate what you ignore ?' The sophism is obvious, but it gives to St Basil and his brother the occasion to elucidate further the doctrine of the energies. We are here at the heart of the question. St Basil retorts that such a question is global, and admits of a manifold sense: the Essence of God, yes, we totally ignore, but not his energy, or rather his energies. 'We say that knowledge is evidently manifold. Thus we say that we know the majesty of God, and his power, and his wisdom, and his goodness, and his providence by which he takes care of us, and the justice of his judgment, not the essence itself' (*To Amphilius*). He further asserts : 'We say that we know our God from his energies ; but we do not promise to approach the Essence itself. For his energies descend to us ; but his Essence remains inaccessible.' In the first book against Eunomius he tries to explain how the notion of God is engendered in us. 'Some (names) are indicative of what is congruous to God, others, on the contrary, of what is incongruous, and from both of these, some character, so to say, is engendered in us of God, by the denial of the dissimilar, and the recognition of the existant.'

(This is a most wonderful definition of apophatic theology and of the cataphatic, of which we have spoken at length in our article on Dionysius.) 'Who is so stupid, asks Gregory of Nyssa, as to ignore that the divine nature, in so far as it is considered according to Essence (*κοτ' οὐσίαν*), is one something simple, homogeneous and devoid of composition, and by no means whatever contemplated in some diverse composition; but the human soul, prostrate on earth, deep buried in this earthly life; not being able to behold distinctly what it seeks, tries to attain by many ideas the unutterable nature, in different ways and several parts, not capturing what is latent accordingly or by some single thought?' (*Against Eunomius*, XII). This doctrine of the energies is not some artificial hypothesis forged out for the needs of the occasion, or some solution which could be adopted or not, *ad libitum*; it is a necessary doctrine involving in itself all the possibility of our knowledge of God, such that if we do not wish to admit it, we are cutting from ourselves all hope of any knowledge of God, however little it be. This and the reason is stated by St Basil thus: 'If it were possible to contemplate the divine nature itself in itself (*αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῇς τὴν θεῖον φύσιν θεωρηθῆναι*), and find out what is proper to it and what is foreign through what appears, we would be in no need at all of words or other signs for the comprehension of what is sought. But because it is higher than the understanding of the things sought, and we reason parting from certain signs about things that evade our memory, it is of all necessity (*ἀνάγκη πᾶσσα*) that we be conducted by the energies to the research of the divine nature (*Epistle to Eustathius*). In the text previously quoted of the Theologian, the 'last' divinity 'which reaches us' clearly denotes the energy in Basil's terminology, as opposed to that 'first and pure nature' which is none but the 'hidden Essence'.

Let us now proceed to the study of the properties of the energy as opposed to those of the Essence. First of all, there are many energies: 'But the energies are diverse, while the essence is simple' (Basil, *epistle to Amphilius*). To deny a certain distinction between the essence and the energy on the one hand, and between the energies themselves, on the other, is, according to St Basil, a sophism (*σόφισμα*) leading to thousands of absurdities. The Eunomians were rather embarrassed by Basil's distinction between essence and energy: *ἄλλο τὸ οὐσία, καὶ ἄλλο τὸ ἐνέργεια*, and pretended that the

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Essence of God, being simple, everything that was asserted about God was asserted about his Essence. St Basil answers that then it would be equal to assert about God that he is creator and just, beautiful and powerful, etc. and thus the ideas contained in each of these qualities would be of no meaning at all. On the contrary, each of these names has its proper irreversible signification (*κατ' ίδιον ἔκαστον σημασίαν*). For example, when we say that God is incorruptible, we are denying in him any corruption, any end of life; this belongs to apophatic theology, which Basil qualifies as prohibitive (*έπογορευτικόν*), repudiative (*ἀρνητικόν*) etc. When we say he is good, we are positing in him that perfection which is goodness (cataphatic theology). Thus by eliminating what is not convenient to God (*μή προσόν*) and asserting what is convenient (*προσόν*), a truthful idea of God is generated in our mind. It is known that Palamas, especially in his Chapters, has shown with great dialectic power the absurdities ensuing from a denial of any distinction between the energies themselves, or between the Essence and energy in general, to which St Basil alludes.

An explicit evaluation of the relation between Essence and energy, in Aristotelian and precise terminology, is found in Gregory the Theologian. Let us first translate completely the short passage where it occurs, and afterwards we will deduce from it what can be deduced. He is defending the divinity of the Holy Ghost against the Macedonian heretics. He begins: 'The Holy Spirit, should be supposed either among those that subsist by themselves (*τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑφεστηκότων*), or those that are considered in another (*τῶν ἐν ἕτερῳ θεωρουμένων*), the one being named by those dexterous in these things as essence (*οὐσία*), the other accident (*συμβεβηκός*). If then it were an accident, this would be energy of God. For what thing else, or whose? In fact it is rather this, and evades composition (*τοῦτο γάρ πως μᾶλλον, καὶ φεύγει σύνθεσιν*). And if energy, it is acted evidently, it will not act, and simultaneously to being acted, will cease. For such is the energy' (*Θεολογικὸς πέμπτος*). In this passage, the Theologian before proving that the Holy Spirit is not an energy, gives the characteristics of energy. He ranges it as being a kind of accident, which evades composition. He calls it (1) an accident, in so far as it is found in another, and does not subsist by itself; (2) he adds the adverb *πως*, because the divine energy has exceptions which resist to its being classed as ordinary

accident. An ordinary accident, as Palamas has well remarked (chapter 127), might begin and die. A πνως συμβεβηκός might accrue and diminish, such as the knowledge in the rational soul; and this also could not be at all applied to God. 'For the Spirit', says St Basil, 'giving his grace to all, remains undiminished and indivisible' (*Homily on Faith*). Palamas calls the πνως συμβεβηκά also the inseparable accidents. In so far they are inseparable, the expression could be applied to God. But as they might accrue and diminish, the Theologian, applying the expression to the divine energy, modifies it still more, by adding 'rather, and it evades composition'. The energy then, according to the explicit formulation of the Theologian, is not a substance, nor precisely an accident, and does not introduce any composition in God: this is the heart of the doctrine of Palamas, and the Theologian's words lead to the belief in a 'divine distinction', that of which we spoke in our article on Dionysius. The distinction between Essence and energy, or energy and energy, does not destroy nor endanger in the least the divine unity and simplicity, the Theologian tells us.

The first difference, then, between Essence and energy is that the first is one, while the second is multiple. The second difference is that, while the Essence is incommunicable, the energy is communicable and divisible, but this should be understood in the right sense. St Basil says: 'For his energies descend down to us: while his Essence remains inaccessible' (*Letter to Amphilius*). Gregory of Nyssa equally asserts: 'Because the humility of our nature accepts not to be elevated above its proper measures, and touch the supereminent nature of the all-high, for this reason dropping to our weakness his man-loving power, as far as it is possible for us to receive, thus distributes his grace and beneficence. As the sun, according to the divine dispensation, tempering the vigour and sincerity of its rays by the intermediate air, emits to those receiving it a proportionate splendour and heat, remaining by itself unapproachable to the weakness of our nature, thus also the divine power, by a similarity to the given example, infinitely surpassing our nature (ἀπειροπλασίως ὑπεράιρουσα), and inaccessible to participation (ἀπρόσιτος εἰς μετουσίων οὖσα) . . . gives to the human nature what is in her power to receive' (*Against Eunomius*, XII). A propos of these words, several remarks should be made:

1. This 'tempering' of which Gregory speaks does not mean at all that God communicates to us not the divinity but

something inferior to it : this is a piteous distortion of the idea expressed. On the contrary it should always be remembered that the energy is defined as the physical or 'essential movement of the Essence' (φύσεως σύστασης κίνησις, St Damascene, Orthodox Faith, 59). This is why the Cappadocians always give to the energy attributes appropriate to the divinity alone : they even often call it divinity. Thus, speaking about the energy of Light on Mount Thabor, in which, as our liturgy sings (6th August), Christ has 'shown to his disciples his glory as much as possible for them', the Theologian says (*To Cledonius I*) : 'the divinity by itself is invisible. But he shall come with his body, according to me : such as he appeared to the disciples on the mountain, or was exposed, the divinity more than vanquishing the flesh'; and, in another place : 'Light was the divinity exposed upon the mountain to the disciples, more firm than the tiny sight' (Discourse on Baptism). (Such assertions put the Transfiguration at a very high level ; and, reading these words, it seems that Palamas has said nothing original concerning the Transfiguration, so clear they are and so much in his line.) This is why, for all the Cappadocian Fathers, as well as all the Fathers, the identity of the energies, or to express it more exactly, the capacity to produce identical energies argues of an identical nature—and it might be said that this was their commonest weapon to prove the divinity of the Son and Spirit against its attackers. St Basil : 'When we see the energies operated by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost differing from each other, we conclude from the difference of the energies the difference of the operating Essence' (*Epistle to Eustathius*). Neither could fire cool, nor crystal heat.

2. A second remark on the text of Gregory of Nyssa concerns the words that God 'gives to the human nature what it is in her power to receive' and 'a proportionate splendour and heat'. This idea is very much liked by the Cappadocians, that it is God that reaches us, not we that attain him : it is he who acts in us, and all we have to do is to put aside all obstacles to his action ; above everything, not to presume to go ahead of his action. Our own action should be symmetric, proportionate to the action of God, parallel to it, so to say, neither behind it nor in advance. This is clearly stated by St Basil : 'The intelligence, he says, united to the divinity of the spirit, is already contemplator of grand visions, and beholds the divine beauties, as much as grace gives, and

its constitution is capable (δύσιν τὴν χάριν ἐνδίδωσι, καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν αὐτοῦ ὑποδέχεται)’ (*Epistle to Amphilochius*). The Theologian stresses very much this point: and certainly he is qualified as much as any man to judge it. According to him, in this consisted Adam’s sin: ‘For the tree was the contemplation, as my theory states, to climb which is safe only for those more perfect in state, being not good for those that are still more simple, and more voracious in their desires, in the same way as a perfect food is of no use to those who are still simple and in need of milk’ (*Second on Easter*). Therefore the dialectic so to say, the path of the mystic should be very careful and ordered: ‘We should not, beginning with contemplation, end in fear. For unrestrained contemplation would quickly impel us to precipices (θεωρία γάρ ἀχαλίνωτος τάχα ἀν καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν ὁσειεν)’ (*On Holy Lights*).

Let us now study in what sense is the divine energy ‘divisible’. It is naive to understand it in some sense of division in parts, which, apart the presumption of dividing the indivisible, subjects the divinity to passion. But the divisibility of the divine energy should be understood in a sense which safeguards the properties of the divine, and here also all the mind can do is to assert, not to explain, for this is impossible. Speaking about the energies of the Spirit, St Basil says: ‘He, being divided in all creature (μεριζόμενον), and differently participated by every one, suffers no diminution through the participators. He gives to all his grace, is not, however, consumed by the participators, but the receivers are filled, and he remains undiminished. And as the sun shining on the bodies, and is diversely participated by them, is never diminished by the participators; thus also the Spirit, giving to all his grace, remains undiminished and indivisible (ἀδιάτρετον)’ (*On Faith*). This idea is concisely and energetically expressed when he says: ‘He is all in everyone, and all everywhere; divided without suffering passion and participated in his totality (ἀπαθῶς μεριζόμενον, καὶ διοσχερῶς μετεχόμενον)’ (*On the Holy Ghost*, IX). Palamas has equally qualified the divine energy as being ‘ἀπαθεστάτη’: this is why he says it can never suffer division nor introduce composition in God, for it is passivity and passion which introduce composition. He remarks this a propos of the quoted expression of the Theologian (‘evades composition’): ‘He alone has the most impassible energy, acting only, but not suffering according to his action, neither becoming nor changing’ (chapter 128).

In the world to come, the vision and communication will be more perfect. In his apology to the people of Cæsarea, St Basil wonderfully explains in what this consists. In this world the intelligence, so to say, is diffused in matter. 'He calls Resurrection that from material knowledge to the immaterial contemplation (*ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνύλου γνώσεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνύλον θεωρίαν*).' But we are all the time nevertheless concerned with the divine energy, not the Essence. Thus, when St Basil says further of the intelligence that it 'will proceed to the naked divinity (*αὐτῇ γυμνῇ τῇ θεότητι*)', he is not meaning at all a transference from the contemplation of the energy to that of the Essence—this is evidently an erroneous interpretation—but a contemplation free from all the chains of matter, an 'intuitive contemplation' which is so well expressed in these words of the Theologian : 'An illumination of the Trinity more pure and more perfect, no more eluding the chained mind diffuse through the senses, but all of it contemplated and held by all the intelligence (*ὅλης δλῶ νοὶ θεωρουμένης τε καὶ κρατουμένης*), and lightening our souls with all the light of the divinity' (*Funeral speech on Gorgia*). This is why the abstraction from all the senses has such a characteristic place in the doctrine of the Fathers : 'To live, says the Theologian, above all visible things, and to bear in oneself pure for ever the divine reflections, unmixed with the characters and errings of this world, being a stainless mirror of God and divine things, being and ever becoming, attracting light by light, the brighter by the dimmer, already the goods of the future age enjoyed by hope' (Apologetic). May God, by the prayers of our Holy Fathers, vouchsafe us to enjoy this eternal life !

FATHER GEORGE HABRA.

Nablus, Jordan.

NEWS AND COMMENT

THE items of news and book reviews will be left over till the Winter issue. The item below has a bearing on Mr Ellis's article and on the theme of the Documentation as also does the review of Professor Lossky's book in a more general way.

EDITOR.

CONCERNING THE RESTORATION OF THE CHALDEAN RITE AMONG THE SYRO-MALABAR CATHOLICS.

The Mass they use at present is the edition of the Chaldean liturgy of the Apostles of 1774 with some external latinizations. They also use the Roman pontifical in Latin and a ritual translated into Syriac from that used at Braga, Portugal.

When the Syro-Malabar hierarchy presented for approbation a Syriac translation of this Pope Pius XI rejected it saying: 'Latinization ought not to be encouraged among Orientals, the Holy See does not want to latinize, but to Catholicize; half measures are neither fruitful nor beneficent'. The pope then constituted a commission to fix the text of the most ancient Chaldean pontificals. The commission had finished its work before the war. Now only the text has been printed (1947). In the preface Cardinal Tisserant addresses the Chaldeans of Mesopotamia and Malabar for both of whom, he says, the text is now printed. 'Let us hope that the Syro-Malabar bishops will soon begin to use this giving up the use of the Latin pontifical in Latin within the Syro-Malabar Mass.'

The photographs show Mar Joseph Parecattil, metropolitan of Ernakulam ordaining in the suburban Cathedral Church of Cardinal Tisserant. He is conferring the priesthood on a Chaldean monk, the deacon Jacob Shouris, also making one of his own students, Joseph Marikath, a lector. The archbishop is using the revised text (1947) of the Chaldean pontifical and the old Chaldean vestments (so is the ordinand) except that he wears a Latin mitre: this is used by most Syrian bishops now as nobody seems to know the exact form of a bishop's liturgical headdress.

Father Placid, a Syro-Malabar Carmelite and one of the Liturgical Commission in Rome, is assisting the archbishop at the ordination. He has supplied the photographs and most of the information for this note.

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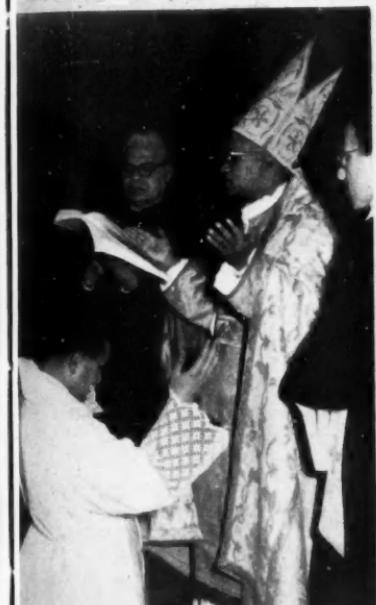
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Top left : Mar Joseph Pareattil, at the offertory of the Mass

Top right: Mar Joseph imposing his hands on the Syro-Malabar student and making him a lector

Bottom left : Mar Joseph saying the prayer before the imposition of hands over the Chaldean
Deacon at his ordination to the priesthood

Bottom right : Communion of the newly ordained priest

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PROFESSOR VLADIMIR LOSSKY.

We give below a critical review of his book as the best way to appreciate the work he did for his Church and also for the West.

The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church by Vladimir Lossky (James Clarke and Co. Ltd). Pp. 249 + index 16s.

The recent publication of the late Vladimir Lossky's *Essai sur la Théologie de l'Eglise d'Orient*¹ in an English version will stimulate, I trust, the English theological public to a profounder interest and study in Byzantine and Russian theological tradition. The essay is ably, clearly and incisively written by an author of the Russian emigration, well prepared by previous studies, more particularly of the Pseudo-Denis, to present to Western readers the position of the theological school in modern Orthodox circles of which he was a leading representative. His preparation extends also to some direct knowledge of Western doctors, notably of St Augustine and of St Thomas. In this connection I would note the study he was preparing on Meister Eckart.

The author did not lack qualifications; his essay, however, would have gained in force had he employed his learning with greater accuracy. The dust-jacket 'blurb' refers to the present essay as an 'authoritative work on Orthodox theology as a whole'. One must understand 'authoritative' in the sense of the author's competency, much as Cuthbert Butler's *Western Mysticism* or Karl Adam's *Christ our Brother* may be said to be authoritative—an authoritativeness, clearly, which does not exclude the defence of particular positions, disputed among theologians.

By way of making evident the fact of such diversity among Orthodox theologians I may refer to a little book published in 1945: *Orthodox Spirituality* by a Monk of the Eastern Church (London, S.P.C.K.).² This book's scope is more restricted, yet clearly related; the author was none the less able to attain it without particular reference either to the Pseudo-Denis, Gregory Palamas or the subsequent, largely Russian, theological thought.

Lossky articulates his exposition in twelve chapters. The introductory chapter clarifies the sense of the terms, especially

¹ Paris (Aubier) 1944, pp. 248. The author died unexpectedly in February 1958.

² A new edition of this is just out [EDITOR].

theology, mystical theology. 'Theology and mysticism support and complete each other. One is impossible without the other' (p. 8). 'Mysticism (the author does not refer to the psychological phenomena sometimes accompanying the experiences of mystics) is . . . treated in the present work as the perfecting and crown of all theology : as theology *par excellence*' (p. 9).

'The Divine Darkness' is the title of Chapter ii. It is based on the Pseudo-Denis and on the prolongation of the tradition there represented in Gregory Palamas. There follows the chapters : 'God in Trinity', 'Uncreated Energies', 'Created Being', 'Image and Likeness'. These chapters, particularly on the Energies, manifest the author's complete acceptance of the Palamite doctrine as the uniquely authentic teaching of Orthodoxy. There follow then chapters on : 'The Economy of the Son', 'The Economy of the Holy Spirit'. From these economies 'Two Aspects of the Church' derive. Then 'The Way of Union' and 'The Divine Light'. The concluding chapter is entitled : 'The Feast of the Kingdom'.

English readers will find a summary of Lossky's work in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April-June 1948.⁸

The remarks to follow will concern : (1) the claim of the Palamite doctrine to be the Orthodox doctrine ; (2) the place of the Pseudo-Denis in the Byzantine tradition ; (3) theological method.

Oakley concludes the review just mentioned with these words : 'It (the doctrine presented in Lossky's study) rightly claims to be identical with the teaching of the East from the beginning and to keep that identity through changing fashions of thought'. The overstatement is so gross that it is false. Yet it seems, indeed, to represent Lossky's own intent. The contrary statement, namely that the Palamite doctrine, particularly, the real distinction of nature and uncreated energies, is a complete novelty without antecedents in Byzantine tradition, would likewise be so gross an understatement as to be false. There are, in fact, patristic texts in the Cappadocians, in Maximus the Confessor—to name only those authors in whom I have encountered them—which may be cited in favour of the Palamite doctrine. But it is to be noted that other texts of these same authors are cited in the Palamite

⁸ *C.Q.R.* 146 (1948) 34-43 (Austin Oakley). Other reviews may be found, for example, in : *Bulletin de Littérature ecclésiastique* (Toulouse) 47 (1946) 171-4; *Rev. d'Etudes Byz.* 3 (1945) 235-8; *Gregorianum* 31 (1950) 605-12; *Mélanges Cavallera* (Toulouse 1948) 231-59.

controversy of the fourteenth century in the contrary sense. What is the true mind of these fathers in this regard?

There exists, to my knowledge, no adequate study of the negative theology to clarify the patristic foundation for the unilateral assertion of Palamas and his followers. Even Palamas may be cited against himself. For he affirms in the *Capita physica et theologica* 34 (PG 150.1141D) that: 'The supreme mind, the ultimate good, the nature more than life and most divine, which is in every way and absolutely incapable of receiving contraries, manifestly does not possess goodness as a quality, but as essence (*οὐσία*); wherefore may be conceived as good is in It. Nay, rather, It is that, and beyond that.' Where then is the real distinction of inaccessible essence and (accessible) energies, of which goodness is the foremost? Or is this an instance of 'now saying one thing, now another, both being true', which 'any pious theologian does', while 'no man with sense will contradict himself' (*id. cap. 121*, PG 150.1205A)?

The Palamite doctrine—Palamites say: the Orthodox doctrine—is characteristically antinomical (cf. for instance, pp. 26, 45, 68, 69). The word is modern; to my knowledge, it is current in such an adapted sense only from the time of Kant. Its presence in the citation from the *Theophanes* of Palamas on p. 69 is due to Lossky.

In a word, then, the Palamite doctrine *as such* is not proven to be present before Palamas. Further, after the first generations of Palamite theologians, it seems to have fallen somewhat into the background, until its modern revival, beginning with Nicodemus the Hagiorite (end of the eighteenth century), but, theologically, only in our own times.

2. The Place of Pseudo-Denis in the Byzantine Tradition. Lossky bases his teaching on the negative theology roundly and principally on the Pseudo-Denis. Without doubt, from the time of the first scholiast—John of Scythopolis (mid sixth century) and Maximus (seventh century) Denis was received as an authority. Yet in the opinion of so great a connoisseur of Byzantine spirituality as Irénée Hausherr, these writings came too late to have any effective influence on a spirituality already formed in its main lines. Yet, should we look for the Dionysian influence rather in the ontological principles used in theological formulation—as I think we should—even here Denis must be considered not so much a source as a link in the tradition of negative theology which so strongly marked the Eunomian controversy of the fourth

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century. In fact, the recent studies of Dionysian influence in the East, between Maximus and the fourteenth century, have been able to note not much more than a *humble reverence* for the great authority.⁴ Lossky, then, is guilty of false perspective in placing the Pseudo-Denis as the foundation of his doctrine of negative theology.⁵

3. Theological Method. There remains, now, only the remark on theological method. By method I understand the way or means to a goal. The goal to be attained, as first of causes, principally determines the way or means to be employed in attaining it. Yet the means or the way available, in their turn, will partly determine the manner and the adequacy in which the goal is attained, quite apart from the skill of him who employs them. I may be pardoned for making such obvious statements; for in the Palamite controversy—whether of the fourteenth century or in that which engages us now in reviewing Lossky's study—a great part of the mutual misunderstanding and, at times, mutual recrimination is due to a lack of reflection on the goals intended and the methods employed to attain them.⁶

In view of these multiple variables—ways, means, diversity in conceiving the goal—it would be temerarious of me to try and set them down in a few lines. What follows are rather hints. Lossky sets himself the task of expounding the mystical theology of the Eastern Church. By this he means the mystical experience as well as the dogmatic structure of the one Church of Christ. These elements are not ultimately separable (Cf. pp. 22 and 236). The instrument he uses is primarily an apophaticism, which 'enables us to transcend all concepts, every sphere of philosophical speculation. It is a tendency towards an ever greater plenitude, in which knowledge is transformed into ignorance, the theology of concepts into contemplation, dogmas into experience of ineffable mysteries' (p. 238).

The way merges into the goal—union with God. And Eastern theology is characterized by this tendency to go beyond.

⁴ *Dict. de Spiritualité* 3 col. 300; *Dict. d'Hist. et Géogr. eccl.* fasc. 79, Denys § 14.

⁵ Maximus, who certainly was influenced (ontologically I would say) by Denis, does not use the figure of Divine Darkness, which serves Lossky as title for his chapter on negative theology.

⁶ For the fourteenth century I can now only refer to the impression I have gained after a close analysis of the correspondence of Barlaam and Palamas, recently edited by Schiro and Meyendorff.

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Here the contrast with Western tradition is more than patent when we refer to a capital text of St Thomas Aquinas, which modern Orthodox authors seldom cite. The question (S.Th. 1.1.6) is whether sacred doctrine be wisdom. In the third place it is suggested that sacred doctrine is not wisdom, for wisdom is had by infusion of the Holy Ghost whereas sacred doctrine is acquired by study. The reply is a distinction of two kinds of wisdom, that by affinity or connaturality, which is illustrated by the text of Denis : 'Hierotheus is learned, not merely learning but suffering divine things' (DN. 2.9—PG. 3.648B) Lossky's 'experience of ineffable mysteries'; and that which is had by study, though the principles be received from revelation. And the *whole* of his theological effort St Thomas puts under the sign of this latter wisdom. And yet, at the end of his life, he refused to continue his *Summa*, because all that he had written was but as straw.

A theology placed under the sign of this human mode is necessarily less far-reaching than one which would proceed only or principally by knowledge of connaturality. Yet a theology of this latter sort, insofar as it is expressed in human language, cannot but use concepts.⁷ And when such a theologian habitually neglects to analyse and order the concepts he employs—it is the case of Palamas and of all that school—he lays himself open to grave errors. In the fourteenth century the Palamite doctrine forming the principle bone of contention was that of the uncreated energies. And at that time there was undoubtedly lack of adequate philosophical perception on both sides.⁸ Theology on the human mode, with its limited means and restricted goal, stands in need of the complement of theology on the mode of affinity, that it may have élan and drive to the fullness; this latter has need of the former, lest we abuse the gifts of our reason. The adage—that we are saved wholly by divine grace, yet must work out our salvation withal—is applicable also to theology.

The foregoing is particularly a critique of Palamas' own method; I would now venture one on the method which Lossky follows in his essay. In it he wishes to 'state the fact of a dogmatic dissimilarity' (p. 22). This is quite necessary, especially

⁷ Theology must use concepts; without them man is theologically dumb. It should be clear, however, that they are but instruments. The act of faith is ever terminated in the thing itself, in God. Cf. St Thomas, S.Th. 2-2.1.2 ad 2.

⁸ The attempt of the Cydones to meet the Byzantine crisis of the fourteenth century by the importation of St Thomas was too abrupt to have hopes of success.

when the ultimate roots of the dissimilarity are to be laid bare. But we can scarcely attain to the roots by disregarding the overburden of earth made up of 'cultural or racial' divergencies. In this same page (22) Lossky seems to veer to the contrary extreme : Some—Roman Catholics, he implies—would explain all differences on such grounds ; no, such cultural and racial divergencies are ultimately but a function of a dogmatic dissimilarity. And that dogmatic dissimilarity is absolute. 'Those dogmas which are, so to speak, more inward, more mysterious, those which relate to Pentecost, the doctrines about the Holy Spirit, about grace, about the Church, are no longer common to the Church of Rome and to the Eastern Church. Two separate traditions are opposed to one another' (p. 237).

This is a clear statement of dogmatic dissimilarity. Now the points in which the traditions are separate and opposed are precisely the chief points of Palamite doctrine. Is it prudent—for a just estimation of the import of the dogmatic facts—to neglect entirely the historic situation from which the Palamite doctrine sprang ? I refer to Symeon the New Theologian, whose prime disciple, Nicetas Stethatos, was violently anti-latin at the time of the schism of 1054, and to Palamas himself who was also vehemently anti-latin. I wish only to draw attention to this correlation.

I have already suggested that the Palamite spirituality is not the unique form of Orthodox spirituality ; I would like now to suggest that among Catholics there exists a diversity of spiritualities, based also on diverse doctrinal options. For example I refer to the Franciscans, for whom the Incarnation serves as the unifying principle in their theology, and to the Dominicans for whom *being* serves that function. The Franciscan and Dominican experience is diverse. Lossky continues the passage just cited thus : 'Even those things which down to a particular moment were held in common receive in retrospect a different stress, appear in a different light as spiritual realities belonging to two distinct experiences'. But a difference of stress, a diversity of experience of the one spiritual reality—for ultimately there can be only one—does not necessarily imply division. Though, true enough, if difference of stress happens to coincide with a division, the division is all the more difficult to overcome.

My fundamental criticism then of Lossky's method in this book is that he oversimplifies and exaggerates, for the sake of making more manifest the dogmatic dissimilarity ; he combines

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theologoumena with dogmatic elements, to cast over the whole the aura of dogmatic certainty. In discussions of this kind the first thing that needs clarification is theological method.

* * *

The value of Lossky's essay lies rather in the fact that it is an exposition of the Palamite doctrine by one who belongs to and is thoroughly acquainted with that school. It has the further advantage of manifesting that drive for attaining the fullness which is characteristic of those who refuse to restrict theology to that which may be acquired by study.

A further suggestion : an author is necessarily interpreted in the light of the tradition to which he owes allegiance (p. 238). Though, perhaps, too absolutely stated, there will always be some element of truth in the statement. That is why Westerners in studying Byzantine authors need to study them, not as excerpted from that tradition, but as it were, through the eyes of that tradition, seeing how the author's thought was subsequently interpreted in his own tradition. Only thus will some potentialities of that thought become manifest. I have in mind the passages of Maximus which served Palamas as authorities.

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A word as to the English version. Only now and again is the original French idiom too manifest in the English. The proof-reading of the Greek citations was extremely careless. The notes have been modified by the citation of English versions and the references to Greek texts in the more readily available *Sources Chrétiennes*. May the book have a large public.

DOM POLYCARP SHERWOOD.

OBITUARY

His HOLINESS POPE PIUS XII
died 9th October 1958

HERE we but announce the passing of the Holy Father. In the next issue we will give some record of his work for Christian unity.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Editor, *E.C.Q.*

SIR,

I cannot here even try to answer all the points raised by Abbot Butler's letter in your last issue. All I would say is that the question is not whether Orthodox thought accepts the 'concept of a more-than-local, a universal unity of the Church', for if it did not do this it would not be Orthodox. The question is what constitutes the universal unity of the local churches, both for Orthodox and for Roman Catholics. Here it would seem that Roman Catholics tend to envisage this unity as constituted by the inclusion of all the local churches in a 'wider' collectivity or corporation, or in (to use Abbot Butler's phrase) 'a single historical society'. For Orthodox Catholics, on the other hand, this unity is constituted by the direct participation of each local church, of each sacramental centre, in the actual principle of universal unity, in, that is, the deifying energies of the Holy Spirit Itself. The Holy Spirit is both the cause and the effective agent not only of the local, but also of the universal, unity of the local churches, as of their fellowship on the historical plane. The universal unity conferred in this way upon the local churches by the Holy Spirit is 'of the essence of the Church as founded by Christ'. Thus, Orthodox thought does not need the concept of Petrine primacy in order to complete its understanding of the universal unity either of the Church or of the local churches, still less does it regard such primacy as 'indispensable' to that unity. Nor does it envisage a unity or fellowship that is more universal and catholic, or more actual and concrete, than that conferred by the Holy Spirit. So to envisage it does, indeed, regard as a kind of blasphemy.

Yours obediently,

AN ORTHODOX LAYMAN.

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DEAR DOM WINSLOW,

It is always a comfort to an author to find that his words have been attentively read by others, even though it be by those for whom they were not primarily intended. The remarks, therefore, of 'An Orthodox Layman' are quite welcome. My article on 'The Sense of Rite' was intended primarily for Catholics; for I am convinced that an internal preparation on the part of Catholics is an essential requirement for a rapprochement of the Byzantine and Latin traditions.

Naturally the Petrine question is the most obvious point of difference between Catholics and Orthodox. Doubtless too when Catholics and Orthodox speak of ecclesiastical questions, the Petrine question is that to which their remarks sooner or later gravitate. However natural this may be, is it good sense? Is it fruitful? I think not. Your correspondent refers to 'doctrinal principles', 'metaphysical principles', 'basic doctrinal premises'. For him the solution of the Petrine question revolves around these. Perhaps in this point we are not far from agreement. Would you refer him to what I have said about the need of mutual understanding as regards theological method in my review of Lossky's *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church*?

What, at the present, seems to me to be capable of rendering great aid in preparing a rapprochement, would be a profound study of the Byzantine theological tradition from the seventh through to the fourteenth century. Catholics and Orthodox, clergy and laity working together. Our first need is to understand.

Christian Hellenism? The article of the late Dom Clement Lialine from which I quoted should give some sense to the term, whether the judgement be acceptable or no. Lossky (op. cit., p. 17) makes a contrary statement: 'Orthodoxy has been the leaven in too many different cultures to be itself considered a cultural form of Eastern Christianity. The forms are different: the faith is one.' Yet I do not think Lialine was speaking of a *cultural form*. Orthodox, if they return to their sources, return above all to the classic fourth century of the Cappadocians, to the seven councils . . . all Hellenic. And this they tend to understand as expressing the unique and complete Christian tradition. St Basil and St Ephrem shared one and the same faith; but Ephrem's Christianity was in no wise Hellenic.

I could go on; but such things are better suited to conversation than the written page.

Sincerely,

POLYCARP SHERWOOD, O.S.B.

THE CATHOLIC APPROACH TO INDIA

RECTIFICATION

SIR,

In a review of the book *The Revolt of Asia* by Christopher Dawson, published in your summer issue of 1958, B.G. makes some statements on the past, present and future of the Church in India, which call for rectification, lest a wrong impression be created in the minds of those who are not acquainted with the real ecclesiastical situation of the country.

Let me say, at the very outset, that I esteem very highly all the treasures of the Oriental Liturgies; but I find it somewhat difficult to understand why any praise of them should be accompanied by disparaging remarks about the Latin rite which, by the way, happens to be the rite of more than ninety-nine per cent of the 486,000,000 Catholics spread in the five continents, and has nurtured, and is nurturing, the spiritual life of thousands of interior souls.

First of all, B.G. questions the assumption of Mr Dawson that the 'modern Western Catholicism is an adequate form for the presentation of the Gospel in the East', and in support of his view, he tells us that the Latin Church, in spite of being in India for four hundred years 'has failed to win more than a minute fraction of the people to its faith, and those almost entirely among the uneducated'. Hence, the remedy is the suppression of the Latin rite, and the spread of the Syrian or Malankara rite; for, according to the reviewer, the Eastern rite alone is '*capable of producing a more authentic form of Catholicism*' in the East.

These are indeed surprising assertions. I may ask: is not B.G. aware that the Syrian rite existed for fifteen hundred years before the Latin missionaries landed in India and, on the admission of the Syrian scholars themselves, it simply failed to make any effort whatsoever to spread the Gospel in the country? Does he not know that when the Western missionaries began to make converts, the Syrian Christians objected on the grounds that the social status of Christians would be lowered, and even went so far as to denounce the missionaries to the then Hindu rulers of Travancore and Cochin? Thank God, this is no longer so. Indian Catholics cannot but feel extremely happy that the Syrian Catholics of Kerala at present display an uncommon spiritual vitality. But it seems to me that this is no reason to say that the Latin rite is not fit for India. I feel that a close and dispassionate study of the sources

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of their spirituality will lead to conclusions different to those hurriedly drawn by B.G.

B.G. thinks that the converts made by the Latin missionaries were 'almost entirely among the uneducated'. I would humbly suggest that he should pay a visit to the Catholic communities of Tamilnad, Mangalore, Goa, and Bombay, and tell us whether the hundreds of teachers, professors of Universities, writers, journalists, clerical workers, members of parliament, etc. that he will find in those places, are simply to be classed 'among the uneducated'.

We are told by B.G. that an 'Eastern rite alone is capable of producing a more authentic form of Catholicism' in India. It seems to me that this is a very serious accusation, for it amounts to say that more than five-sixths of the Catholics of India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon are practising an *imperfect and or mutilated form* of Catholicism. A glance at the latest statistics will help us to understand the real situation. There are at present 6,500,000 Catholics in the four countries, which must be grouped together in order to appreciate the results of the four hundred years of the work done by the Latin missionaries for, until recently, all four formed one missionary area. Of these, 5,200,000 are of the Latin rite. In the same area, there are ninety-three jurisdictional units, of which eighty-four are of the Latin rite. Who will dare to say that the Catholicism of all these people is of a less 'authentic form' as B.G. seems to imply? One wishes that B.G. had made a close study of the Catholic life of some of these Latin dioceses. Then he would have been pleasantly surprised to find the throngs of people filling the churches to capacity on Sundays, and in some places even on week-days—a fact that shows more clearly than any other how much these people feel at home in the rite to which they belong.

For the benefit of those readers who are not in the position to make a personal study of the matter, I may quote from a book by Archbishop Roberts 'I shall never cease'. His Grace writes in the *Black Popes*, 'to be grateful for the superlative loyalty and efficiency of the Catholic laymen in Bombay city . . . their importance in the city in proportion to their number would be hard to match anywhere in Europe' (Italics mine).¹

The record of the Latin missionaries in the past wherever they were in sufficient numbers to work, has indeed been remarkable in the conversion movement as well as in the reunion movement. It is true that from 1750 to 1850 there was

¹See *The Examiner*, Bombay, 26-2-1955.

what might be called a *full-stop* in the work of the missions proper in India. Many reasons account for the fact, one of the main ones being the establishment of *double jurisdiction*, the history of which is full of sad events in the country. This is why enlightened laymen and ecclesiastics of contemporary India, who have not yet forgotten the scandalous jurisdictional conflicts, wish and pray that the sad history may not repeat itself.

We are told further that *Latin theology* is no good for the East. So far I had only heard of Catholic, Protestant, and Oriental Theology (that is, the theology of the Dissident Christians), etc. *Latin theology* is a new terminology. As there is only one Catholic theology, the expression must stand for the theology which is being taught at present in all Catholic Faculties and seminaries. So far as I know, all professors of Catholic theology base their teaching first of all on the Scriptures, and then, on the Tradition, whose origins are the Holy Fathers, the different liturgies, the archaeological monuments, etc. obviously, according to the diversity of the milieu where the future priests are to exercise their ministry, different aspects of the one Catholic theology must be given greater stress. This is being done at present in Indian seminaries so far as one can judge from the programmes published in their calendars. Hence, it would seem that the criticisms of B.G. about the training imparted in the Indian seminaries are, to say the least, exaggerated.

Then, B.G. maintains that Latin Canon Law 'with its extremely rational and practical character' is not 'in accordance with the genius of the East'. I wonder how many of the 400,000,000 modern Indians will reject an institution because of its too rational and practical a character? The whole trend of modern India, embodied in her Constitution, and expressed in all her efforts since obtaining independence, points to a direction different from the one taken for granted by B.G.! India is very much in favour of rational and practical solutions for her problems. One may also wonder whether B.G. thinks that the recently promulgated Oriental Canon Law is less rational and practical than the Latin Canon Law.

Before concluding, may I be permitted to say that, as far as I can see, the need of the moment for the Church in India is to make every possible effort to foster and strengthen the union among Indian Catholics. For, then alone will they be able to face and withstand the difficulties which lie ahead. A *Liturgical Apostolate*, which will make Catholics conscious

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of the unity of the Mystical Body of Christ, is urgently needed in India. *Liturgical niceties*, which may result in creating superiority or inferiority complexes in the different sections of the Church, and this in dividing the Indian Catholics, can wait for the nonce. *United, the Indian Catholics will stand; divided they will fall.*

FR B. GOMEZ (An Indian Catholic Priest).

[We have arranged to print B.G's reply below.—EDITOR.]

REPLY TO FATHER GOMEZ

I am sorry that Fr Gomez should have thought that my remarks were intended as a 'disparagement' of Latin Catholicism in India. I assure him that that was not my intention. When I spoke of the need for a more 'authentic' form of Catholicism, I meant, of course, a more authentically *Indian* form. I have no doubt at all of the quality of the faith of our Indian Catholics. I have seen the 'crowded churches' in Bombay and Madras and have been deeply impressed by them: and though I have not visited Goa and Mangalore, I have met many Catholics from there and made many friends among them. There is nothing 'imperfect or mutilated' about their Catholicism; on the contrary my complaint is that they are exactly like Catholics everywhere. They speak perfect English, wear European clothes, live in European houses, worship in 'Baroque' and 'Gothic' churches with marble altars and statues imported from Europe, and even (like Fr Gomez himself) have European names. What they lack is the slightest contact with the authentic tradition of Indian culture, whether in art or literature, in philosophy or spirituality or in their general view of life. In saying this I am not simply giving my own opinion, but expressing the view of the Church in India among the hierarchy, the professors in seminaries and laypeople. In the last two years I have attended conferences at Madras and Bangalore which were specifically concerned with this problem and were directed by the hierarchy and attended by representatives of the Church from all over India.

Of course, many of these Catholics are well educated (in a Western sense) and do magnificent work, as Fr Gomez says, but these are I think almost without exception members of old Catholic families, which were converted at the time of the first Portuguese missions. It remains true that conversions

from among the educated have been and still are extremely rare. Fr Gomez admits that there was a 'full stop' in conversions from 1750 to 1850, but he might have added that this full stop has continued with renewed emphasis at the present day. In spite of the fact that we have schools and colleges, which give an excellent education, all over India and are attended eagerly by Hindus (the Hindu students sometimes numbering sixty per cent of the whole body) it is the rarest thing to hear of even a single conversion. The conversions which are being made are almost entirely among the 'backward' classes.

In regard to the 'rational and practical' character of the Church of course it is true that the modern Westernized Indian admires it; but that is the trouble. The average Hindu regards the Church as a vast organization with its schools and colleges and hospitals and institutions of all sorts, which he admires and desires to imitate. But of the Church as the mystical body of Christ, as a source of interior life to the soul, he has no conception at all. This again is not merely my own opinion but has been told me by all those whom I have met, who have any close contact with Hindus. My suggestion is that if we were to pay more attention to the Eastern tradition of the Church with its emphasis less on the juridical character of the Church than on its significance as the mystical body of Christ, we might be able to give a more authentic expression to the true nature of the Church. Fr Gomez objects to the expression 'Latin theology' but there is surely a tradition of Greek theology quite distinct from our Latin tradition which justifies the phrase. It is not, of course, a difference in doctrine, but in its mode of thought and expression. Our Latin theology is extremely, logical and systematized, whereas the Greek is more 'mystical' and symbolic. It is not only in India that the need for such a development of theology is felt, but in India especially, it seems to me, that we might profit by an emphasis on the Eastern tradition both of theology and of liturgy and of the character of the Church.

This brings me finally to the question of the Syrian Church. It was not my purpose to oppose the Syrian to the Latin rite, still less to suggest the 'suppression' of the Latin rite in India. I agree with Fr Gomez that we must work above all for unity. But I believe that the Syrian Church with its Eastern traditions has a contribution of great importance to make to the future of the Church in India, and it is necessary that the value and need of these traditions should be recognized.

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Syrian priests are in no danger of neglecting the Latin tradition, as they are all educated in it in our seminaries ; but there is surely a great need that Latin Catholics should come to realize how much an Eastern liturgy and an Eastern theology has to give. It is the assumption implicit in Mr Dawson's book and explicit in Fr Gomez's letter, that the Latin rite is perfectly adapted to the needs of India and has no need to learn from the East, which I question.

B.G.

P.S.—The figures which Fr Gomez gives for the Catholic population of India, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan are impressive until one realizes that the population of these countries is about 300,000,000. The Catholic population, after four hundred years of missionary labour, is therefore, just over one per cent.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- S.C.M. Press : *Western Asceticism*, Ed. Owen Chadwick.
 Hodder and Stoughton : *John Wesley and the Catholic Church*,
 John M. Todd.
 Mowbray : *The Gnostic Problem*, R. McL. Wilson.
 The Faith Press : *The Undistorted Image*, Archimandrite Sofrony.
 Éditions Du Seuil : *Saint Serge*, Pierre Kovalevsky.
 Les Éditions Du Cerf : *Le Pasteur*, Hermas.

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